Hitler's Financial Setup

A Report by
Jurgen Kuczynski and M. Witt

NEW MASSES

September 22, 1942 15c in Canada 20c

"America—There's a Job to Be Done." A painting by Georges Schreiber

Courtesy Abbott Laboratories

TALKING TURKEY TO CONGRESS *by A. B. Magil*

Also in this Issue: *Gambling on Victory, by the Editors; The Dean of OCD, by Bruce Minton; The Story of Lyudmila Pavlichenko; Traitors' Ancestry, by Samuel Sillen.*

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ARE WE GAMBLING ON VICTORY?

"Efforts which are divided in space must not be divided in time." Two speeches. The meaning of coalition warfare. Counter reasons for a second front now. An editorial.

AFTER Mr. Churchill's report to the House of Commons and the President's appraisal of the war in his Labor Day speech, it becomes possible to strike some kind of trial balance on the second front issue. There is a paradoxical phrase that children are fond of: "I see, said the blind man." We are now in the position of seeing—despite everything that is admittedly still obscure—the main outlines of how things stand.

IT IS clear that the fundamental agreement on the necessity of a second front has now been implemented by detailed military decisions between the highest British and American officials. These decisions were reached, says a statement from the White House, some time late in July. Preparations for the offensive on the battlefields of Europe against the main enemy —Germany—are therefore already under way. In other words, the uncertainty which arose in the minds of millions of people in July as to whether the Molotov agreement of June 11 was being implemented by concrete preparations was a justified uncertainty—for it was not until well into midsummer that such preparations were agreed upon in military detail. Obviously it was the great demand for immediate action which swept our own country and Britain in those weeks that played the decisive part in overcoming the lag between agreements in principle and agreement in military detail.

It is clear also that among the obstacles toward a more rapid development of events there was a certain conflict of views between London and Washington. That they existed, the Prime Minister has told us; whether these views revolved around matters of supply, matters of how much America was going to send over, or whether the interference concerned such matters as who was to command, or relations with the people of France—we do not know. But at least the differences have been adjusted. Obviously one of the real factors in expediting this agreement was the spirit of mutual understanding of our two peoples. The resistance of Americans to unconstructive criticism of our British ally, arising out of the mysterious loss of Tobruk, the spirit of reciprocity that was dramatized by the exchange of greetings between the Madison Square Park demonstration in New York and the Trafalgar Square demonstrations in London, were decisive factors in harmonizing the views of our two governments.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that this harmony of view between London and Washington has not yet become three-cornered, does not include our decisive ally, the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Churchill admitted serious differences between his own and Stalin's view of the war. Associated Press dispatches in recent days have told us something that has long been obvious from the dispatches of Soviet and American correspondents in Russia—namely a real disappointment at the second front delay, and above all, the failure to bring about a real coordination of strategic and tactical views on the war.

The fact is that coordination, as Claude Cockburn suggested in a recent dispatch in these pages, is still in its "infantile stages." There is still too much of a situation in which British and American staff officers make up their minds as to what should be done and then inform the Russians, *instead of, inviting the Soviet view as an integral and equal factor in the making of decisions which must be binding upon all.* Imagine for a moment how we would feel if the British and Russians made decisions the same way. And this is, of course, alarming, not only in view of the time and the men and the ground already lost, but it is alarming because it reveals an attitude toward the war of coalition which, if it goes unrepaired, can hurt and cripple the coalition badly, both for the war and the peace.

IN EXPRESSING their "disagreeability" on this problem, the Russians are not thinking of themselves alone. If we think so, we would be making the same arrogant mistake that was made after Munich, when so many Americans thought that in projecting collective action against the aggressors, the Soviets were merely worried about themselves. On the contrary, they are worried about us. For the heart of the whole matter is that the second front is not an exclusive Russian interest; it is the common interest of all of us, and in fact, delay in opening the second front on time, and on a scale commensurate with the need for actually routing the enemy, will only boomerang upon us, in the West.

Failure to open the front in time, and on the really large scope that the war demands would hurt Russia, yes, cripple her badly. *But it is very much open to question whether we in the West could endure this boomerang anywhere nearly as well as the Russians.* The impending Nazi peace offensive—that is the greater danger for us. The shifting of tens of Nazi divisions to the West together with most of the Luftwaffe—who dares to say that we could do as well against the concentration of German force in the West and the Mediterranean as the Russians have done this summer? A simultaneous drive in the Middle East and toward Suez—can we really be as confident that in the face of the fragile political relations of the Near East and the relative inexperience of our command and our troops we could really do better than the Russians have done on their own Caucasian soil? The conclusions which Vichy will draw about Dakar, the conclusions which Turkey will draw for Syria, the decisions which Japan will make for its own future course of action—these will all rebound with even greater force upon us, who may be less able to bear it, than upon Russia, hurt as she would be by any further delay.

And it is significant that Americans who cannot possibly be accused of ideological sympathy for the Soviet Union reacted immediately last week to these considerations. Dorothy Thompson, in a syndicated column, "Russia and Us," sees the thing clearly. John P. Lewis in PM asks the questions that have to be asked. In the *New Republic* last week a story from London, "Politics and the Second Front," reveals a deep understanding of how vital it is that we think in terms of true coalition with Russia, or face a protracted crisis that can only redound to our own bitter sorrow. Needless to say the continuing resolution of such key trade unions as the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America in their convention at Cleveland, O., or the United Office and Professional Workers in Albany, N. Y., last week reveals how firmly the labor movement is grappling with the issue.

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VOL. XLIV, NO. 12

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WHAT does coalition warfare really mean? It means that "efforts which are divided in space must not be divided in time." That was Litvinov's phrase last February, and it is more than ever valid. The concept that "Russia will hold," that "it is the 8th of September," while it expresses a justifiable confidence in the Red Army, nevertheless has the implication that we shall be able to meet and defeat the enemy *alone*, no matter how badly our chief ally has been weakened and pushed back.

At the very best this is a gamble. At the very worst it implies that instead of fighting simultaneously with our chief allies, we shall be fighting one after the other. At the very best, therefore, delay in opening the second front is a terrible risk, in which we risk a situation in which the Soviet Union will be weakened to a point where—no matter how much better prepared we shall be—the enemy will have gained a position from which to make our offensive incredibly more difficult. At the very worst, it means that by having to fight one after another, we shall be defeated one after another.

That is why Prime Minister Churchill's reference to the chance that Britain's Tenth Army may someday support the Soviet left flank at the gates of Persia is so disturbing. It not only projects the hardest way of doing things, but runs the risk of not really succeeding at all. Instead of preventing a further Nazi advance to the southern Caucasus by attacking in the west today, the inference is that we shall try to meet the Nazis at some future point on a battlefield where most of the advantages lie with the enemy, not with us. The logical conclusion of such a strategy is a long, and essentially defensive warfare—"a retreat to victory"—which means retreating to defeat. And the defeatists will be most sensitive to its implications. Every day's delay encourages them to the hope of thwarting the second front altogether. Give them an inch, and they will make a mile of it. Give them enough rope and they shall hang us all separately.

It is this which undoubtedly disturbs our allies, and it is here that the opinion of our own country and Britain has its supreme obligation, a more urgent obligation than ever before.

What we have learned about the second front in the last week makes clear that public opinion has played a decisive role in crystallizing decisions from plans, in moving from principles to practice. What we still do not know about the second front—the time and the scope of the action—makes it clear that public opinion still has the decisive role to play.

The second front is needed immediately—to save Stalingrad,—the brightest gem in the crown of the United Nations—to save the Volga, to save the Nile, to really hold all the positions which the President said we must hold.

The second front is needed immediately to resolve the differences of views, differences which must not be permitted to become protracted and thus hamper the coalition of democratic forces for a long time to come.

The second front is needed immediately because we cannot afford to gamble on the difference between victory in the fourth year of the war or victory in 1946. *The decision must be for victory in this year of the war: for that a second front is crucial now.*

The second front is needed immediately to really turn the tide in our relations with all the neutrals: a second front in Europe would make Mr. Willkie's tasks in the Near East a thousand times easier. It would make obsolete all that "cultural rehabilitation" of Franco. It would make it impossible for Laval to insult us as he did last week in protesting our bombardments of German property in Rouen.

IT IS necessary for the American people to rise to the occasion on a scale even larger, and more decisively than last July, on a scale commensurate with the even graver crisis that confronts us now. Did you send a postal card to the President in July? Do that again, today. Did you bring the issue up at your union meeting, your local organization last July? Bring it up again today—in the light of the critical moment that faces us—and let us have a much more powerful expression of public opinion —for the second front NOW.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Politics and a Second Front

NAPOLEON USED TO SAY that he won his campaigns because he had only alliances... military ...

Finally, the question of a second front in 1942 is in the profoundest sense political because it is bound up with the question of whether we want to win or to draw the war, to defeat or to make a deal with Hitler. We cannot win the war unless the USSR is one of the victors. For if the Soviet Union were defeated to the point where, say, one-third of the European Axis forces could hold the Eastern front and the rest could be used against Great Britain and America, the prospect is at best one of deadlock. It is not only a question of men, or even of artillery, planes and tanks. Hitler could organize the industries and resources under his control and allocate sufficient manpower to turning out the weapons of most effect in repelling invasion. If we cannot muster a sufficient superiority in striking power to invade Europe within the next few months against the forty or fifty divisions which are all Hitler can dispose of now in the West, it may take us several years to gather strength for smashing into Europe against the firepower and manpower Hitler could muster if he were to achieve his object in the USSR. Then the danger of some kind of compromise peace might become very real.

The Axis is playing for a stalemate and a negotiated peace, leaving them in possession of most of their gains. It is imperative that they be defeated and utterly overthrown. But we can do that only if the United States and Great Britain treat the USSR as a 100-percent ally and partner and work out a single united strategy, treating the war as a whole. In practice that means making good our pledge to open a second front in Europe in 1942. Perhaps the important conference ...

Signed only by the initials J. H., this story from London in the "New Republic" for September 15 gives a searching analysis of how Britons feel about the war's crisis. British morale is fantastically high, says the author, but it all hangs on the fate of Russia and the second front.

"Russia and Us" was the title of Dorothy Thompson's column for September 9. It must have been written just prior to Prime Minister Churchill's review of the war, but it acutely reflects alarm at how things are going.

On The Record

By Dorothy Thompson

Russia and Us

Our Russian allies—I call them that though they try in vain to make a treaty of military alliance with us—are fighting in a spirit beyond praise. Their resistance before Stalingrad is one of those miracles that Paul Reynaud, in France, invoked in vain. But the spirit alone is not decisive in this struggle, and we are not even helping that spirit adequately.

We will live bitterly to regret it. We have to face the strong possibility that soon the German troops will reach the Caspian Sea, and cut the Volga traffic lifeline of Russia. It is obvious that the Russian army, a few months after that event, will be short of oil, and thus will lose its main offensive power.

Furthermore, the southern supply line to Russia will be cut, the most important food areas of Russia are already lost, and the steel center of Stalingrad is in shambles.

The consequences for us are that the Germans will be able to wage a defensive war in Russia next year, and to shift more than a hundred divisions to the West, together with the main part of their air force.

The winter this ye... ing to be ... sia; m... b...

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

QUESTIONS FOR MR. CHURCHILL

The tonnage used to transport 50,000 men some 13,000 miles around Cape Horn could have moved 100,000 men across the channel. Why hasn't it been done? What about "September eighth"?

I AM a firm believer in social amenities. Therefore, I cannot condone the discourtesy shown Mr. Churchill by members of the House of Commons when a number of them last week walked out on him, mumbling, "We want deeds, not words," or something to that effect. However, this writer is not devoid of understanding in the case of these gentlemen.

Mr. Churchill spoke many words. All too vague. This vagueness is especially regrettable in the matter of the second front. The Prime Minister in speaking of the Dieppe raid quite correctly pointed out that it was not a Commando raid, but a reconnaissance in force—". . . a hard savage clash, such clashes as are likely to become increasingly numerous as the war deepens." As "the war deepens" is very vague. Neither was Mr. Churchill more specific as to the facts this reconnaissance had divulged. Many things could have and should have been said. On the part of Mr. Churchill this was political "escapology." It was not hiding information from the enemy, it was hiding himself from public opinion. Thus the most important thing of all—when do we get a second front—was left unsaid, in spite of many words pronounced.

ON A PAR with the failure to mention and explain the brilliant air victory over the German Luftwaffe at Dieppe, was the failure to explain why near Malta a British convoy was able with carrier-based aircraft to lick the German land-based planes and why the British Eighth Army suddenly acquired such "undoubted mastery of the air" over the Western Desert in Egypt. The answer is obvious: the Luftwaffe is engaged up to its neck in the East, as the German air general Erich Quade said so plainly in a recent broadcast from Berlin. Mr. Churchill avoided this explanation because it would have undoubtedly sounded awkward in the face of his second front escapology.

It is a well known fact that the bombings of Germany and France from the air are represented by some quarters as a substitute for the second front. Mr. Churchill wished to make these bombings appear grandiose and impressive, this being part of the same escapology. The result was slightly on the pathetic side. "We have discharged," said Mr. Churchill, "nearly double the bomb load upon Germany as was discharged in the corresponding period of last year—and with much greater precision. A far larger proportion fell in built-up areas or hit actual targets." The ratio is nothing to brag about after a year of doing nothing except preparing. The description of the batting average is somewhat childish.

IN THE matter of the Battle of the Atlantic Mr. Churchill was more specific. He said that during July, August, and the first part of September the graphs show that the line of new ship building has "crossed and maintained itself over the line of sinkings." This is good and almost definite, but in this connection Mr. Churchill makes a statement which is only too typical of defensive psychology. "We must regard this struggle at sea as the foundation of all efforts of the United Nations." This is not so. The real foundation in this respect is too destroy the nests of German submarines, for instance, instead of simply thinking of warding them off or building more ships than the subs can sink.

It must be admitted that Mr. Churchill made a great show of courage when he frankly described the terrible mess which the Army of the Desert got into in Egypt. He said: "The Eighth Army . . . had lost more than 80,000 men. It had been driven back about 400 miles since May, with immense losses in munitions, supplies, and transport. General Rommel's surprisingly rapid advance was only rendered possible because he used our captured stores and vehicles. . . ." The structure of the army ". . . had become much deranged. . . ." In other words, the whole thing was just a grand mess and it is surprising that under the circumstances the man responsible, General Auchinleck, should be permitted "to go on leave" with the hope expressed that "his services may be available later on in the war," instead of being court-martialed.

The same benevolent "cover-up" attitude was apparent in Mr. Churchill's reference to the Burma mess when he said that the new commander in Egypt, Gen. Sir Harold Alexander, was "fresh from a brilliant uphill campaign in Burma." General Alexander may be very good, but the Burma campaign was "brilliant" only because a lot of good walking to the rear was done.

The reference to the formation of a separate Middle Eastern Command under Gen. Sir Henry Maitland Wilson (Iraq, Syria, and Iran) is a good thing, but it was presented by Mr. Churchill with an unnecessary flourish. He said: "The Tenth Army is being rapidly strengthened and, with the substantial air forces which it will require, may eventually give support to the Russian left flank and will, in any case, defend the soil of Persia." One feels very distinctly that Mr. Churchill had to blush inwardly after talking of "support to the Russians," then inserting the word "eventually" to soften the remark, and finally taking refuge in the phrase "will, in any case, defend the soil of Persia." He surely at that moment could not help thinking of what he probably had been told during his several days' visit in Moscow about fighting in general, and things like that.

ABOUT the biggest, most important, and only really decisive front of the war—the Soviet front—Mr. Churchill said exactly thirteen words: "Of the Russian front, I will only at this moment say it is the eighth of September." Did he mean that, winter being near, there was no need to open a second front because the Russians would be quite all right, what with the mud, snow, frost, and all that sort of thing? If that was the idea, it might be said that Mr. Churchill is playing with fire, and not with ice. On most of the sectors of the Eastern Front real winter is still at least two and one-half months away. A lot of things can happen during that period of time. It took the Germans forty-five days to go from Rostov to Mozdok, and Mozdok is the halfway mark between Rostov and Baku.

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Mozdok is also about halfway between Rostov and the border of Iran. The Germans made their great drive on Moscow in October and November. It may be said that, barring abnormal weather conditions, Leningrad alone is protected from a general onslaught by atmospheric conditions.

Mr. Churchill may have had something else in mind when he pointed to the calendar and made his remark. We don't know. But on the face of it, it looks like another figure of oratorical escapology.

Contrary to his warning that he would say of the Russian front only these thirteen words, Mr. Churchill did come back to the subject later in his speech. His "return engagement" was quite strange. Said he: "It was difficult to make the Russians comprehend the difficulties of ocean transport, as Russia is essentially a continent while we are an island." Now this sounds very lame. Why didn't Mr. Churchill simply say that the Russians cannot understand why he does not use his shipping as he should and where he should? The Russians know all about ocean transport even if they are not an island, but a continent. Neither is America an island, for that matter, and Americans understand shipping no less than the British.

IT IS clear that the Russians did not "understand" certain things. Such a thing is contained in Mr. Churchill's speech. It is by far the most important thing he said and it is quite surprising that no one, to my knowledge, seems to have noticed it much. Here it is: "As far back as last March I asked President Roosevelt to loan me shipping to transport an additional 40,000 or 50,000 men to the Middle East so as to have something to bear our weight on—a force to which we could turn in various theaters in which danger might develop. The President consented and placed at our disposal a number of American ships . . . at the critical moment we had round the Cape a very large and well equipped force, which could be directed immediately to Egypt. It is to that that the improvement and maintenance of our forces in that region must be largely attributed."

So, now we have it. Ships to transport 50,000 men 13,000 miles must have aggregated at least 300,000 tons. There is no doubt that if, instead of transporting men on a forty-five day trip (one way), they had taken them on a trip of a few hours (to Europe), these ships could have moved at least 100,000 men in one trip. Now figure out how many round trips these ships could have made (to Europe) during the ninety days they were engaged in "rounding [and rerounding] the Cape." This shipping placed at the disposal of Mr. Churchill last March could have transported the bulk of a second front expeditionary force of 500,000 men to Europe. Or at least its first great echelons. This would have happened while the Germans were still on the run on the Eastern Front. So the ships *were there.* Now we know, thanks to Mr. Churchill's candor in the House of Commons.

The Germans could have been crushed and it would have been quite superfluous "to improve our affairs" in the Middle East because Rommel would have been simply a homeless waif. These ships were misused. What they brought was lost by Auchinleck in May and after that. This was typical strategic bungling.

Mr. Churchill's military explanations of events are not satisfactory.

"Isn't it nice, Schultz—no second front yet?"

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TALKING TURKEY TO CONGRESS

A. B. Magil discusses the nature of the President's challenge. The strategy of his opponents. Their freeze-the-wage plans. Senator Taft's mutinous advice.

MANY of us may be disposed to share the irritation and sense of futility expressed by Samuel Grafton at the congressional debate over President Roosevelt's latest message.

"For several weeks," he writes (New York *Post,* September 10), "we shall not have to find an answer to Mr. Hitler; it will be enough to find an answer to Senator Taft. The public meanwhile will be blamed for apathy. I would like some one to tell me why the public should be singing and dancing in the streets at the spectacle of a great, big, enormous, terrific debate over farm prices while Stalingrad is being encircled.

"The public has better sense than to join in such escapist holidays as this spurious debate over inflation. It knows, in its heart, that something in the picture is twisted and wrong. It senses something out of proportion in this terrible, intense executive and legislative concentration on the subject of farm prices at such a moment as this. It feels, numbly, that we should solve such matters in five minutes and then concentrate on larger concerns."

Office of War Information

"He owns the only eraser in the class."

Mr. Grafton's purpose is to sound the alarm at obstructionist fiddling while the world burns. He is shouting "Fire" because there *is* a fire, and it's our house that's aflame. He is right: such matters as the lowering of ceilings on farm prices should be solved in five minutes. Yet he goes too far, it seems to me, when he concludes that because what the President proposes could be done quickly, it is therefore of no consequence and has no relation to the war. When he writes: "So, for a month, the President will not have to do anything special toward winning the war," he implies that Mr. Roosevelt, too, is fiddling. If what the President asks of Congress is of no importance and has no relation to what is happening at Stalingrad and the other fronts, then why do it at all? But this would bring us to the position of Senator Taft and the whole kit and caboodle of disrupters and defeatists who have sabotaged the President's seven-point economic program. There is really no need to pose action on the economic front as against military action in Europe, or to choose between "answering" Taft and "answering" Hitler. In each instance the two are closely related. And the Nazi radio itself acknowledged the importance *for the outcome of the war* of the President's fight against inflation when its English-language broadcast described his message as a "message of despair" and said that it "justifies all the hopes of victory entertained by Germany and her allies." Of course, as is usual with Nazi propaganda, the truth happens to lie just 180 degrees away.

Mr. Grafton thinks that "inflation in the modern world is as dead as the can-can, and the feeling that it can really happen again is a kind of Wall Street sentimentalism." There is no need to exaggerate the inflationary danger or to conjure up the bogey of the fantastic inflation that overwhelmed Germany after the last war. But the steady rise in the cost of food is no Wall Street sentimentalism, but, as any housewife will testify, a very real Main Street problem. And from the morale aspect alone it is of the greatest importance to the country's war effort to prevent any further increases in living costs.

THE opponents of the President's win-the-war economic program have launched their counter-offensive along two lines: a loud outcry that Mr. Roosevelt's demand that Congress act on farm prices by October 1 or he himself will act is a threat to violate the Constitution and assume dictatorial powers; and a drive to pass legislation that will continue the sabotage of the President's program by including wage-freezing with action on farm prices. The character of the first line of attack was best exemplified by Senator Taft's speech in the Senate immediately after the reading of the President's message. I daresay that if this speech were delivered in England, Senator Taft would now be contemplating the fine points of price control from behind iron bars. The stuff for which William Dudley Pelley, George W. Christians, and other fifth columnists were sent to jail was not more seditious than this from Senator Taft's speech: "If those [presidential] powers should be assumed without legislation, I should not hesitate to advise any man that it would be his patriotic duty to refuse obedience to any order issued under them. . . ." That statement got into many newspapers and was read by members of the armed forces. It was a clear incitement to mutiny against the Commander-in-Chief in wartime. And it is to the shame of the Seventy-Seventh Congress that no member of the Senate arose to protest this bold sedition in our country's legislative halls.

The "constitutional" argument (it hardly should be dignified as such) was echoed by others in Congress and by various newspapers. Two of the latter managed to get caught on

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the horns of a curious dilemma. Both the follower of the Goebbels line, the New York *Daily News,* and the follower of its own devious yes-but line, the New York *Times,* refuted in their news columns what they vehemently insisted on in their editorial pages. In its editorial on September 9 the *News* charged, as usual, "dictatorship." But a dispatch by its Washington correspondent, John O'Donnell, in the same issue said: "The capital agreed tonight that President Roosevelt, in his role of Commander-in-Chief, had the power to make good yesterday's ultimatum to Congress—to fix the price of commodities even in the face of a specific prohibition by the lawmakers." And the *Times* of September 9, countering its own dour, two-column editorial urging Congress to challenge the President's power to act on his own, published on the same day an article by Arthur Krock citing precedents for such action in similar assumptions of power by Lincoln and Wilson.

Within a few days it became clear that this spurious constitutional issue was a resounding dud. As against presidential action and congressional inaction there is no doubt where the choice of Mr. and Mrs. Joe Smith, Americans, lies. The people want to pay less for eggs and butter and lamb. And they want to win the war even if learned lawyers and pious appeasers say it's against the Constitution. In a lengthy interview in the Hearst press Senator Taft moaned: "It is tragic to realize how many of the people *were* bamboozled [by the President's message]." And he admitted that fully one-half of the mail he had received attacked his Senate speech, one correspondent merely writing a single brief and appropriate word: "Traitor!"

With the ides of November only a few weeks off, some of the most voluble of the lose-the-war crowd have been doing a lot of sober second-thinking. They have decided to forget the constitutional issue and are concentrating on something just as snide but not so transparent: upsetting the President's program by freezing wages at the same time that they lower the ceilings on farm prices. They calculate that Mr. Roosevelt, presented with a bill of this kind, will have to accept both or reject both. In either case Congress will be able to pass the buck. In either case the obstructionists win, the people lose.

But this is where the people come in. It is fear of the people that has caused the congressional wreckers to drop the fake constitutional issue like a hot potato. That fear can be a powerful deterrent to the attempts to convert the President's proposals into an attack on labor and a means of setting workers and farmers at each other's throats.

LARGER considerations than farm prices or even the seven-point program are involved in the Roosevelt message. For the first time he has challenged the willful minority of before-and-after Pearl Harbor saboteurs who have sought to convert Congress into a sprawling, shapeless Tower of Babel confusing and impeding the war effort. For the first time he has appealed to the people against this unholy cabal, thereby providing the kind of leadership needed to elect a victory Congress in November. And once more it has been demonstrated that in the struggle on the home front, as in the struggle abroad, an offensive strategy, backed by an awakened people, is the only one that gets results.

This strategy needs to be applied on a broader plane. What is being done for farm prices can also be done for taxes, rationing, and other problems of war economy. Though the President mentioned taxes in his message, his ultimatum was confined to farm prices. No deadline has been set for action on his proposed $25,000 ceiling on individual net income and his appeal for heavy taxation to recapture "all wartime profits that are not necessary to maintain efficient all-out war production." The Senate Finance Committee has, in fact, ignored these proposals and has proceeded to whip into shape a program of its own that will permit corporation profits as usual or better, and will gouge new billions out of those least able to pay. The committee's new ironically named "victory tax" is a national scandal. It would place a flat five percent levy on every penny of income over twelve dollars a week, without permitting any deductions, on top of the regular, greatly stiffened income tax. In some respects this new "victory tax" is even worse than a sales tax. All of which adds point to the fact that the Treasury policy of coddling the congressional gentlemen in charge of tax questions and of seeking to coax a few favors out of them with appeasement gestures has revealed its utter bankruptcy.

The administration position has been further weakened by its uncritical acceptance of the "inflationary gap" theory, which has become a favorite of the tax saboteurs, wage-freezers, and other enemies of the seven-point program. This theory attributes the inflationary danger primarily to the alleged pressure of the excess of purchasing power over the supply of consumers' goods. The fact is that, despite all prognostications, no such pressure has actually developed, and a recent Department of Labor Survey shows that the increased income of the average American family is going into savings, including war bonds, rather than larger expenditures for consumers' goods. The real danger lies elsewhere: the inadequacy of price control and rationing and the failure to adopt the rounded economic program proposed by President Roosevelt nearly five months ago.

It is time for the President to start talking turkey to the Georges and Byrds and Doughtons on the all-important tax issue, as he has on farm prices. In this toughest war of all time too much of Congress is blubber. We need to get rid of the fat and replace it with solid, hard-hitting muscle on November 3. For the processes of democratic government are stultified and America's fight for life is seriously weakened by this kind of Congress. In this total war half measures have generally proved fatal. We must take the offensive on the economic and political fronts, as well as the military, or we risk losing all.

A. B. MAGIL.

Office of War Information

"Stop it, Helen, the OPA just froze you at 97 cents."

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CALIFORNIA PRIMARY — LESSON FOR NOVEMBER

The need for plain talk about the war. How New Dealer Governor Olson fell into the trap Earl Warren, Hoover Republican, set for him. Why Lt. Will Rogers, Jr. beat Leland Ford.

San Francisco.

ON THE morning after the primary elections, Californians turned on the radio or looked at the headlines to confront an astonishing situation. Earl Warren had captured the Republican nomination for governor and was trailing not far behind Gov. Culbert M. Olson for the Democratic nomination. Earl Warren—consistently anti-labor, a Republican of the Hoover stripe, endorsed by Hearst. And that wasn't the worst of it. By the end of the week Warren's total vote had been chalked up at more than double that of Olson. Only by 100,000 or so majority was the Democratic nominee guaranteed his own party, enabling him to face Warren at the polls in November.

It was a light vote—only forty percent of those registered went to the polls—but that's small comfort to the forces which recognized that an electoral repudiation of Warren would mean a defeat for the appeasers. Why *wasn't* he repudiated? The answer to that is important for California—for the nation. For Governor Olson is a Roosevelt man. He was endorsed by both the AFL and the CIO on a state-wide basis. He is for winning the war. So why didn't the people get out and vote for him?

Because, for one thing—though not the most important—Earl Warren is a cunning and careful strategist. A long-time politician, at present state attorney general, he planned his campaign to take advantage of every opportunity. There was petty bickering within the Democratic Party, and Warren saw a chance to garner some votes for himself there as well as from the Republicans. He filed on both tickets, which is permitted in California, and proceeded to make a great virtue of this action by claiming that *he* was "non-partisan" —a phrase often reiterated in his primary campaign.

Indeed, Warren was so "non-partisan" that he, a Hoover Republican, even claimed to be 100 percent behind Franklin D. Roosevelt. He said that he supported the war, too. Backed by powerful interests, he won the support of almost every major newspaper in the state, with the pro-war Los Angeles *Times* and San Francisco *Chronicle* lined up for him along with the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press.

Yet the truth about Warren should not have been too difficult to disentangle from his pretenses. While paying lip service to the war, he launched his campaign under such isolationist slogans as "a second front at home" and "home defense against invasion." He was silent on such vital questions as the President's seven-point economic program—which his followers violently attacked. During his attorney generalship he has been very gentle, very tolerant toward the Bundists and Italian fascist organizations of California. His anti-labor record is known to every union man. It was Warren's vehement prosecution of King, Ramsay, and Conner, the labor union men framed in the notorious Ship Murder Case, that sent the three to prison. And it was Warren who denounced the Parole Board for releasing them. He is a Red-baiter who defended the Tenney law which barred the Communist Party from the California ballot. When a State Supreme Court decision reinstated the party, Warren rushed into print with a characteristic outburst.

THESE facts about Warren were not revealed sharply enough to impress voters. He never permitted them to stand out sharply. Instead his campaign was directed to obscuring them by harping on questions of state and local administration, reviving old factional and partisan disputes, accusing his opponent of a lack of "leadership." And Olson permitted him to get away with this tactic.

True, Olson recognized that the primary issue in the campaign was—or should have been—the winning of the war. His own sincerity on that score can't be questioned. He means it when he says, "We know that labor is doing its share in the battle of production, and that it is also doing its duty on the battle fronts. Americans in all walks of life are today fully aware of the danger of Nazism and fascism. All together we are as one dedicated to the single purpose of utterly defeating Hitler and his associates in crime." But the trouble was that Olson, in this campaign—as throughout his administration—has lacked the forthrightness, the fighting spirit to rout the appeasement forces. He could have exposed Warren, shown up his demagogy, spotlighted his Hearst and Hoover backers. He could have made winning the war *the* one big issue, concentrated everyone's attention on it. Instead, he let Warren involve him in the relatively trivial quarrels and arguments that the attorney general had thrust forward for just such a purpose.

Nor has Olson made the best use of weapons on hand for winning the war. Here in the West Coast area, basic war industry prevails. Well organized committees against racial discrimination are in action. The issue is vigorously alive. But what has Olson done? True, he took the leadership against discrimination in state public works employment and in civilian defense. He appointed a Negro judge in Los Angeles, and another Negro in an important civilian defense activity. But he has not gone to town on the matter of rallying support for the President's Executive Order 8802 forbidding discrimination in war industries.

THE lesson is made more pointed by the contrasting success of Lieut.-Gov. Ellis E. Patterson, who came out openly for a second front, and won not only the Democratic nomination but a large vote from the Republicans. And Robert E. Kenny, an energetic, outspoken win-the-war candidate, carried the Democratic nomination for attorney general and very nearly won the Republican one too; his election is practically assured. In the Los Angeles area seven out of nine pro-war candidates were nominated.

One of the happiest scores in the final tallies was the defeat of Leland Ford by Will Rogers, Jr. in the Democratic primary race for congressional nominees. Young Rogers, now a lieutenant in the US Army, is actively anti-fascist. He was editor and publisher of his own paper in Hollywood before he joined the army and is "the spittin' image of the old man," as someone remarked when Rogers appeared at a Spanish refugee meeting in San Francisco. Ford, who won the Republican nomination, is so notoriously reactionary that it's hardly necessary to set forth his record. His name has appeared on the letterhead of an Axis front organization called the "Citizens Committee to Keep America Out of War" and of the "National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars." However, in another congressional district the defeatists put their man, Rep. Thomas Rolph, on the final tickets of both parties. This was largely due to the fact that he faced two opponents and so the vote against him was split.

Obviously the results of those elections are pointers for the Olson forces in their current campaign. The gubernatorial race has gotten off to a bad start, but the time for correcting mistakes is far from past. It involves, first of all, unity around the three top candidates—Olson, Patterson, and Kenny—a unity of all people and groups that back President Roosevelt's policies for winning the war. And it involves concerted planning and concerted action by these forces. More than anything, it demands straightforward, sharp speaking, a refusal to be diverted for one moment from the tremendous battle that engages all America.

ETHEL TURNER.

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I KILLED 309 NAZIS

Lieut. Lyudmila Pavlichenko tells the remarkable story of her career. From history student to sniper. "If I kill a German I am saving lives."

I AM writing this letter at the request of the Soviet Anti-Fascist Youth Committee. I am not sure that it will be of any interest to the wider circles of American youth, but I shall be very glad if I am proved mistaken, and my readers abroad find my story worthy of their attention.

To begin with: I am Ukrainian. I was born in the town of Belaya Tserkov, not far from Kiev, twenty-six years ago. I am a most ordinary looking girl, medium height, and with dark brown hair, which I used to wear long. I had to have it cut short as soon as war broke out, and now my cap covers it easily. For the rest, I have no particular distinguishing marks, except for a little scar on my forehead just above the bridge of my nose. That is a mark left by a German long-range shell splinter. I have four of these scars, by the way, but they don't bother me, and didn't keep me very long in the hospital.

A few years ago I was invited to enter the Military Engineering School, but I wouldn't hear of it: least of all was I thinking then of war and military affairs. I was interested in history. In 1937 I entered Kiev University; I dreamed of becoming a scholar then, instead of which, I have become a sniper.

I learned to shoot a long time ago, before I went to the university. It was purely accidental that I took it up. I was very keen on all kinds of athletics—running, jumping, discus-throwing, rowing, swimming, and I even thought of trying my hand at weight-lifting. The only thing I was indifferent to was shooting. Then, once, I happened to hear a boy boast of how he had made eight out of ten points at a shooting range. That was enough to send me running to the range. I took a fancy to shooting at once—went in for it properly—and by 1938 I had gone through a snipers' school.

I remember a funny incident at one of those prize shooting ranges my friends dragged me off to. There were fifteen prizes, and every shot cost ten kopeks. Well, I bought fifteen cartridges for one ruble and fifty kopeks, and started. You ought to have seen the shooting range keeper's face. He was so taken aback, and turned so pale. After every shot he had to take a prize off a stick and hand it to me. It took about ten minutes to clear the whole lot. Then I felt sorry for him and gave them all back.

In the summer of 1941 I was in Odessa and fell ill just before the war. On June 15 I went into a sanatarium—on June 22 I came out: the war cured me at once of all my ailments.

They wouldn't take girls in the army, so I had to resort to all kinds of dodges to get in. And after a long time I did—I was a soldier like the rest—and took part in the defense of Odessa.

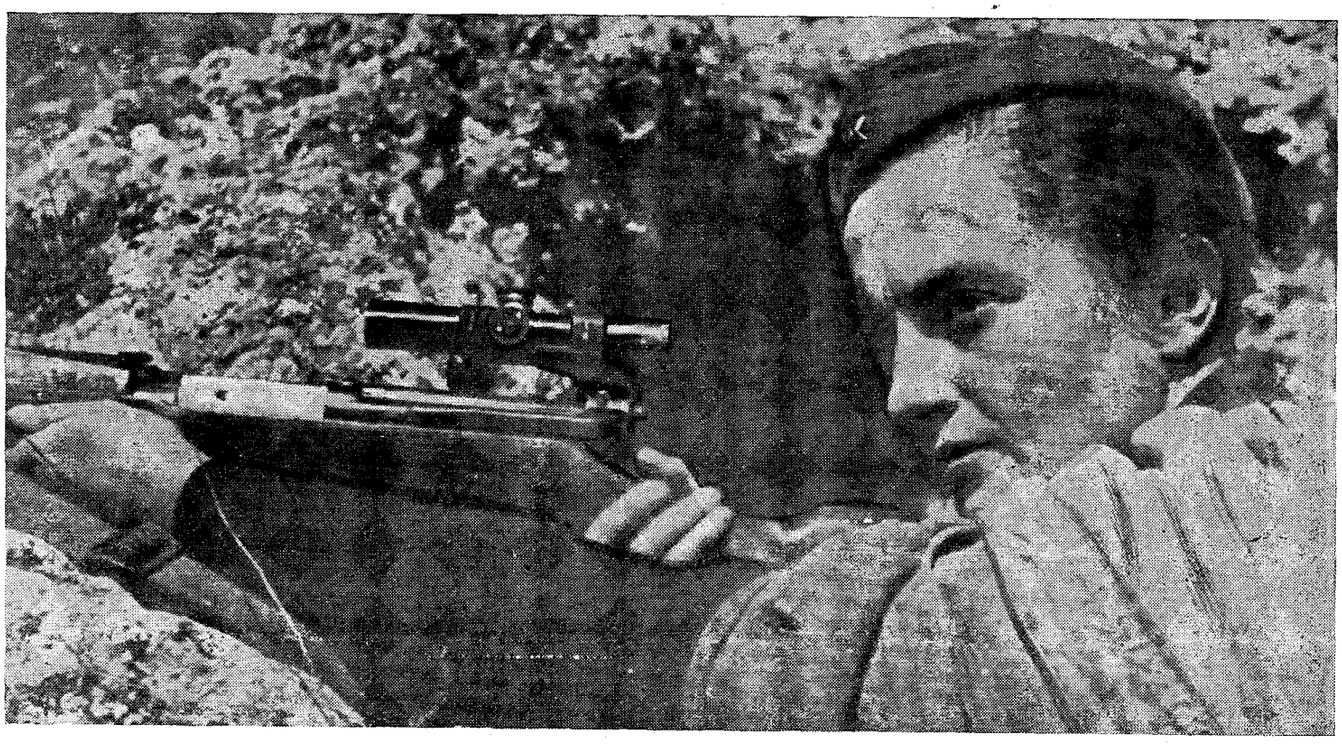
LET me tell you how I opened my personal account with the enemy; things like this aren't easily forgotten! My turn came to occupy the firing position. I lay there and watched their Rumanians digging themselves in only three or four hundred yards away. We were strictly forbidden by the commander to shoot without his permission. I passed the word down the line, "May I fire?", and waited impatiently for a reply. Instead, the commander sent back the question, "Are you sure of hitting them?"

"Yes!" I said.

"Then fire!"

I got a grip on myself—forced myself to be steady and cool—took very careful aim—and fired! My Rumanian flung up his arms and dropped. I waited for a fraction of a second: another head appeared over the top. I got that one, too. A third Rumanian cleared out.

That was my baptism of fire. Even after that, my personal account showed nothing to my credit. The two Rumanians didn't come into it; they were counted as trial shots. But, from that time on I regarded myself, and so did my comrades, as a full-fledged sniper, who could be trusted with real independent work.



Sniper Pavlichenko—"We made things unpleasant for the Germans. They were terrified of us. . . ."

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Snipers' work is by no means easy! You go out while it is dark, at four or four-thirty, and come back late at night. You need great self-control, will power, and endurance to lie fifteen hours at a stretch without moving. The slightest start may mean death. Though we snipers are hunters, we are also fair game for the enemy snipers. Every step we take is under observation of enemy snipers—spotters. They try to mark and keep our firing positions under machine gun and artillery fire. That is why each of us has several firing positions. I am never more than two days at the same one, and you shoot only when you are quite sure of your aim, because every unnecessary shot gives away your position.

IT WAS the German snipers who taught me caution, endurance, and restraint. If I so much as stirred a finger, a bullet would whistle just over my head, or at the back of my legs. Occasionally a German tin hat would appear—just a fraction of it—and you think: "I'll get that Fritz!" You fire, and the tin hat waggles like the head of a toy elephant, and disappears. It was only a German decoy to make the sniper betray his position. Following that, the Germans usually opened such a squall of fire that you dared not even raise your head. It was just terrible. From sheer fright you would call out, "Machine gunners—save me!" Then, the gunners would open fire—quiet the Germans down a bit—and you would be able to crawl back, more dead than alive, for a breathing space.

Of course, that was only the beginning. Afterward I got used to the fire and the German tactics. I learned all their dodges, and how to keep my position a dead secret. After a while things went very well.

We defended Odessa till October, then we got orders to evacuate. Evacuation was done in an exemplary manner. We took positively everything with us aboard ship. The airmen took their old wheels with them, and the cavalry, even old horseshoes. So we went aboard and started for Sevastopol. Much has been written about Sevastopol. The history of wars can show nothing to compare with its defense. We were one Russian to every ten Germans. Fifteen hundred planes flew over the long-suffering town every day. The air shook with incessant cannonade, exploding shells, and bombs. The sun was blotted out by bursts of clouds of dust and earth. We hadn't enough shells or food, but we hung on. The city had ceased to be—there was nothing save a heap of ruins—but still we hung on, battling from our stand on the ruins, shooting from behind every building, every elevation or mound.

Not a clod of Sevastopol ground was given up without a stiff fight—not a step did we retreat without orders. We mowed down the Hitlerites like ripe grain—as drunk with blood as vodka, they swept headlong into the jaws of death. Fresh German divisions were driven to take the place of those fallen—there was no end to them.

The Germans had to pay a high price—too high—for the ruin that was once Sevastopol.

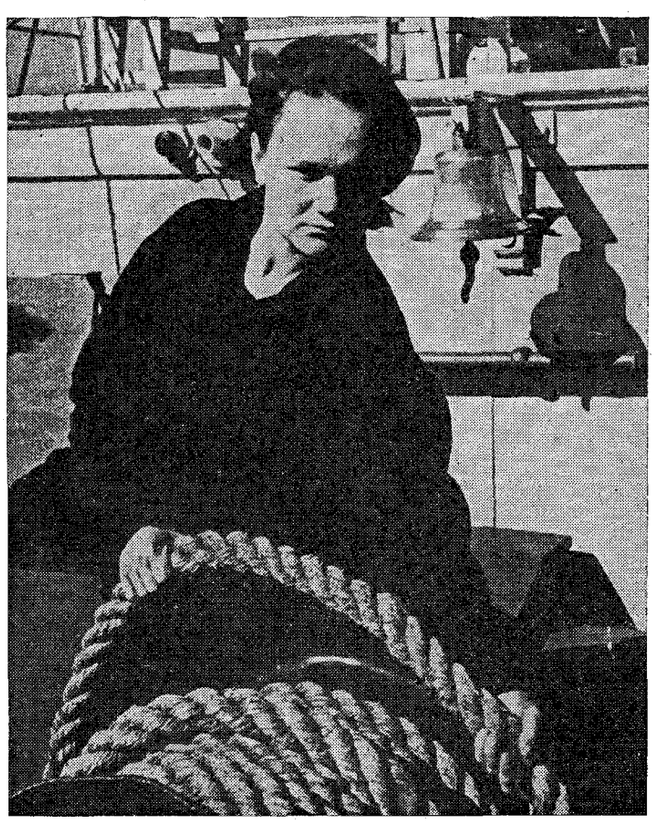
Snipers were kept busy those days. We made things unpleasant for the Germans. They were terrified of us, and cursed us—no wonder, for 150 of our snipers had destroyed 1,000 fascists in twenty days! I, myself, trained eighty snipers during the war: altogether they destroyed 2,000 Germans.

The Hitlerites did their utmost, but wore themselves out trying to discover the whereabouts of our snipers and put them out of action. They spared neither men nor means on this. They would open sniper fire as during an offensive.

We found it very difficult to work. Every inch of ground was under fire—every bush or shrub that could afford cover for a sniper was marked down by the Germans. They not only knew our positions, but they knew the snipers by name. I have heard them more than once shout through a speaking trumpet, "Lyudmila Pavlichenko, come over to us. We will give you lots of chocolate and make you an officer."

After a while they went into threats and you would hear the voice that had been so ingratiating, bellow furiously, "You had better keep out of our way, Pavlichenko! If we catch you, we will tear you into 309 pieces, and scatter them to the winds!" The figure 309 was the number of fascists I had killed. They even knew that!

But they needn't have worried. Neither I nor any of our snipers had the slightest intention of falling into their clutches. My friend Nikolai Koval was caught in an ambush. Ten Germans surrounded him and told him to surrender. In reply Koval flung a grenade, blew up himself and six Germans at the same time.



Soviet sailor—she is one of many women who work in the merchant marine.

I HAVE often been asked what I felt when I kill a German. The only feeling I have is the great satisfaction a hunter feels who has killed a beast of prey or a poisonous snake. The Hitlerites are worse than brute beasts. They are not simply murderers—they are tyrants, sadists, and tormentors—for whom no laws exist.

Every Nazi soldier who remains alive will kill women, children, and old folks. Dead Germans are harmless. Therefore, if I kill a German I am saving lives.

It seems to me that, at the present time, the principal task of every honest young man, regardless of his nationality, religious convictions, and political views, is to exterminate the Hitlerites relentlessly.

Everyone to whom his country's freedom, honor, and independence are dear, and who wants to save his family, should take to arms and fight the fascists—fight them wherever he can—north or south, east or west, in the Don River steppes or the plains of France, in the Norwegian fjords or the Greek hills. He should not wait until the enemies come and seek him out, but he should go seek them out and destroy them.

Every German killed is a step along the road to the liberation of mankind from the Hitlerites. In conclusion, I wish you, my friends abroad, every success in carrying out your duty as citizens—which is to kill the Germans!

LYUDMILA PAVLICHENKO.

(Reprinted from the "Canadian Tribune")

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THE DEAN OF OCD

The ideas of James M. Landis. How his office functions. "The practical idealist" they failed to badger out of office. Why he said "Readiness for defense, like war itself, is total."

Washington.

AT THE national headquarters of the Office of Civilian Defense, they take the concept of a people's war very seriously. Almost the first thing OCD Director James M. Landis said as he hunched over his desk was, "As I see it, in a people's war—as this war certainly is—we must provide for the broadest participation in the war effort. It seems to me that this is particularly the task of the defense councils." He relaxed somewhat, fumbling with a pencil and pursing his lips. "These councils should provide opportunity for everyone to join in—without discrimination and to the best of his ability. That is the guiding principle of the OCD. And by everyone," he added, accenting the words, "I mean that the OCD welcomes all, regardless of color or race or religious beliefs."

What makes Landis' general approach impressive is that the OCD has energetically translated this outlook into practice. The job naturally presents difficulties—the national office is primarily a program agency, advising, outlining policy, suggesting, without the authority to command local councils to accept its decisions. Yet civilian defense has captured the imagination of almost every community; and because advice and direction from the national office have proved wise and practical, Landis has been able to influence the development of local councils.

The story goes that Landis doesn't know how to relax. He is constantly at his desk in the du Pont Circle apartment building which has been taken over by the Office of Emergency Management and divided into innumerable cubbyholes. Or he is in conference, or he is on the road touring the country to spur on regional and state organizations. He looks tired—and energetic; a short man with deep-set eyes, thinning hair, a thin, sharp nose, a broad mouth, smoking cigarettes incessantly. At forty-two he is an old hand in Washington, one of the original New Dealers who has been in and out of the capital ever since 1933. He had been through the mill down here—at one time administration critics numbered him among the "impractical reformists" of whom they loudly complained; later Landis was accepted as a "practical idealist." The appeasers in Congress decided to take him on last February, thinking to badger him and the OCD out of business. Landis fought back and plunged into the task of building civilian defense with redoubled fury. The defeatists didn't get very far. Since then the legislators on the Hill have had a healthy respect for the OCD director; when the recent OCD appropriation was before Congress, it won unanimous approval. James Landis is over the hump—his usefulness and the value of the job he is doing no longer meet with serious challenge.

James MacCauley Landis was born in Tokyo in 1899, the son of Presbyterian missionaries. He received his early education in Japan, and then when he was almost fifteen his parents shipped him off to the United States where he entered Mercersburg Academy. From there he went to Princeton, working his way through college, graduating Phi Beta Kappa and leader of his class. He won a scholarship to Harvard Law School—according to one of those ubiquitous Harvard graduates, he made the highest mark of all time, bettering the phenomenal record established years before by Louis D. Brandeis. After a year of graduate study, with the degree of Doctor of Juristic Science, Justice Brandeis chose him to act as secretary. Young Landis served his apprenticeship, then returned to Harvard as an assistant professor. In 1928 a special chair of legislation was created for him; he settled down as a full professor to teach law.

He found time to write *The Business of the Supreme Court,* in collaboration with his colleague, Felix Frankfurter. Then came the depression and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Landis was called to Washington to draft the Securities Act of 1933 with Ben Cohen and Tom Corcoran. With that job finished, he returned to Harvard, expecting to run for the city council of Cambridge. But before he could enter local politics in a big way, he was appointed to the Federal Trade Commission to help administer the new Security Act. He became in those early New Deal days one of Frankfurter's "little hot dogs." In 1934 he joined the new Securities and Exchange Commission; with the resignation of Joseph Kennedy a year later, he took over the chairmanship of the commission, and added to his duties the administration of the Public Utility Holding Act of 1935.

HARVARD recalled him in 1937 to serve as dean of the law school. He managed, in his spare time, to write, to serve on the National Power Policy Commission, to sit in 1938 on the President's Emergency Board on the National Railway Strike which opposed a cut in wages for railroad workers, and suggested legislation to help the rail companies coordinate and consolidate their facilities. In 1939 Landis was designated as special trial examiner for the Department of Labor's hearing on Harry Bridges. He traveled to the West Coast, presided over the investigation for eleven weeks, heard 1,500,000 words of testimony, and finally his vigorous opinion reversed the Labor Department's deportation order against the West Coast labor leader.

Once again he settled down to his duties as a Harvard dean. But in 1941, with the war in full swing and with the prospect of America's direct involvement very immediate, he entered the civilian defense organization for New England. Soon Landis was applauded for directing "the best civilian defense accomplishment in the country." It was no surprise, therefore, that President Roosevelt chose Landis as executive director of the national OCD early in January. He took over at a difficult moment. Just ten days after his appointment the defeatist clique in Congress tried to scuttle the OCD setup and saddle the army with the problems of civilian defense—despite the army's objection that it had enough to do without additional burden. In the end Congress voted funds to the OCD, after the die-hards had enjoyed a field day badgering Landis, fulminating about "boondoggling," and with the aid of the press, generally hurting the OCD in the eyes of the

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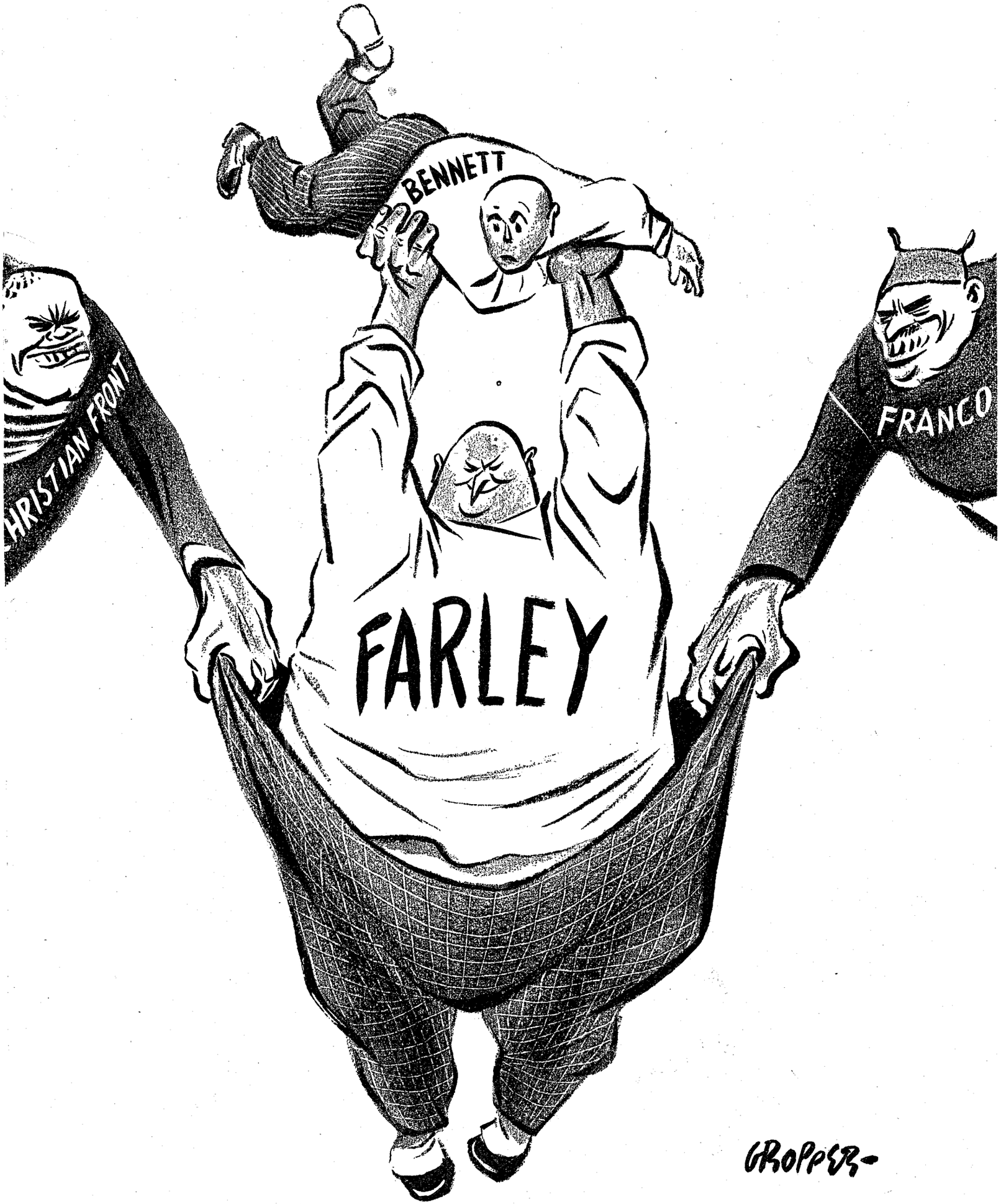

"Character, that is Jim's greatest asset."

—Westbrook Pegler in the Scripps-Howard press.

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public. Mrs. Roosevelt resigned with the statement: "By remaining, I would only make it possible for those who wish to attack me, because of my beliefs, to attack an agency I consider can prove its usefulness so completely to the people." Mayor LaGuardia stepped out soon thereafter. And James M. Landis was left with the responsibility of providing for the civilian defense of the American people.

Landis thought of his obligation in the following terms: "Readiness for defense, like war itself, is total. Nothing will suffice short of the consolidated and organized effort of the entire nation." And since this is a people's war, which implies the broadest possible participation by everyone in the population ("including aliens and the foreign-born," Landis remarked, "even though we obviously must exclude enemy aliens from the protective side of civilian defense"), Landis refused to limit OCD activities merely to preparations against air raids. "The way OCD is set up," he explained, "the local boards have two functions: The first is to protect the public and the communities against enemy actions such as bombing and incendiary raids—I call this 'passive defense,' or the ability to cope with direct emergencies. The second function is to mobilize all the people to do all the jobs they can do in forwarding the war—and I call this 'active defense,' or the gearing of communities to the problems of total production with maximum efficiency."

In approaching "passive defense," Dean Landis ruled out a loosely knit setup. He insisted on a solid organization with a realistic program, each member of the organization to become a specialist in some branch of protective work, trained in his job, with a precise knowledge of how to go about it. Actually the protection of life and property was relatively the simplest problem for the OCD. The training of air raid wardens and emergency firemen, of nurses and decontamination squads, presented the OCD with a definite goal. Landis set his jaw a little belligerently and went about reaching the goal. Today he is satisfied that the communities are well on their way to perfecting methods of handling any emergency efficiently. While the OCD cannot flatly order local defense councils to comply with commands, it can withhold from inefficient and badly trained local groups the equipment which OCD purchases with the $100,000,000 appropriated to it by Congress. The OCD makes clear that unless local defense councils can show ability to make the best possible use of equipment, they are not in line to receive help from the national office. This requirement has served to raise the standards of defense training in many communities.

IN A STATEMENT of policy on Jan. 23, 1942, the OCD pointed out that it "called upon labor to contribute to the full extent of its ability in the organization and manning of the protective services, and to join with other citizens in services directed to meet community problems." Labor is the only organized group specifically named by the OCD. Newman Jeffery, chief of OCD's labor branch, explained why labor was singled out. "We know very well that business groups and property holders will be included in local defense setups. That goes without saying. But we want to make our councils as broad as possible. Official recognition of labor's role helps us reach the broadest organized group in any locality, and through the unions to reach the widest sections of any community. No other organization so completely cuts across various groupings as does labor."

Moreover, Jeffrey went on, labor has developed a functioning machinery that must be utilized in civilian defense. Labor is disciplined, and the organization it has set up can be quickly adapted to the defense needs of the community with the minimum delay and difficulty. "Where you have defense councils functioning well," he remarked, "you will find nine times out of ten that labor is not just nominally represented, but is part and parcel of policy-making bodies. The reverse is also true. Wherever defense councils still are the property of a narrow clique or a political machine trying to make hay for itself, the defense apparatus will usually be grossly inadequate."

Jeffery gave as an example the organization achieved in most of California. Immediately after Pearl Harbor there was some attempt in the Far West to exclude the labor movement from civilian defense; soon the local bodies discovered that they could not get the job done properly without utilizing the unions, their manpower, and skills. Today, in most large California cities and towns, the unions are active in defense groups: the teamsters have organized emergency transportation and evacuation systems; the plumbers and electricians are on hand to take care of any damage to water mains and power lines; the carpenters are ready for demolition work. In San Diego, for example, the welders union unanimously responded to civilian defense needs by taking a two weeks' course in demolition.

Recently Mr. Landis sent out directives urging the organization of civilian defense in industrial plants. "It is the view of the Office of Civilian Defense," read the communication, "that this program can be most effectively established with close cooperation between employers and employes. . . . We believe that this can be achieved by the formation of a joint employer-employe Committee on Air Raid Protection in each industrial plant. . . . It is important that this joint committee truly represent both employer and employes. . . . In those plants or departments where the workers belong to a labor organization, the union representative should constitute the labor half of the joint committee."

This is an important precedent, in line with WPB policy of joint management-labor production committees. The OCD has a record of doing as much—and probably more—to promote the unity of the people throughout the nation for the purpose of winning a speedy victory as any other government agency.

ASIDE from protective work, the OCD has the task of forwarding "active defense." The OCD is a service agency, with the duty to facilitate work of other government agencies in need of assistance. For example, OCD helped OPA handle gasoline and sugar rationing by enlisting registrars. In New York OCD mobilized 50,000 women to show merchants how to post maximum prices as ordered by OPA. In defense areas OCD makes surveys of needed nurseries to allow women anxious to get jobs in factories, but unable to leave their children without care, to enter war industry. It is the OCD that has organized share-your-car clubs to conserve gasoline and tires, and to ease transportation strains in areas crowded by an influx of new workers. The OCD discusses and plans with merchants and local producers to meet the food needs of those regions expecting a great expansion in population because of the opening of new plants. The OCD concerns itself over houses for workers flocking to production centers. It arranges for adult recreation, forming committees to provide dances and other activities for soldiers in nearby army camps, and for workers in overcrowded sections where the usual forms of recreation are inadequate. There is no community task or problem that the OCD turns down. Anything that concerns the morale of the people, anything that will help the war effort function more smoothly and efficiently, anything that makes for better health and better utilization of people's energies, is the province of civilian defense. Admittedly, the job is never finished, never completely mastered. But the OCD is making forces who fight and die in the people's war.

James Landis can be proud of the achievements of the OCD—of the progress in mobilizing the home front in support of the armed front.

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HITLER'S "FINANZ DIVISIONEN"

This is how Berlin's robber barons loot the mines and factories of the occupied countries. A report on the technique of plunder by two outstanding European economists.

IN EVERY country conquered by the National Socialists the German monopolists immediately take possession of the economic key positions. The German tanks were promptly followed by German iron and steel barons, by coal and chemical princes.

The world saw this strategy in practice for the first time, before the outbreak of the present world war, when Austria and Czechoslovakia were conquered. Almost at once coal and ore, iron and steel, became German property. Minority positions in the big concerns became majority positions. The monopolists of the Ruhr replaced the "native" capitalists. The big iron and steel works and chemical plants went to work under German domination, and production was geared up rapidly to assist preparations for war.

When Austria was conquered, it became a base for the attack on Czechoslovakia. Even before the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, its economic structure was being undermined by means which Austria provided. The Austrian Baron Rothschild, for instance, was kept a prisoner until he transferred to the German monopolists his share in the big Czech Vitkovice Iron and Steel Works.

The Hermann Goering Works were one of the chief collectors of key positions. Founded in 1937, with a capital of 5,000,000 marks for the exploitation of low grade ores in Germany, they increased their scope very rapidly, and one year after their foundation their capital had increased to 400,000,000 marks. The exact amount of participation of the big German iron and steel trusts in this undertaking is not known. But all the big capitalists of the Ruhr are known to have a considerable share in it. Goering boasted to Balbo that the Hermann Goering Works were destined to become "the greatest industrial enterprise in the world." In Austria the Hermann Goering Works secured for themselves decisive control of the Alpine Montangesellschaft (ore), and the Veitscher Magnesitwerke, besides numerous iron and steel concerns and the oil-distributing agency, Fanto AG.

In Czechoslovakia they control Skoda, the Brno armaments works, and other concerns producing iron, steel, and their manufactures. The French capital in these works (Schneider Creuzot) sold out to German monopolists, who paid them off with Czech gold held by the Bank for International Settlements. Today the same German monopolists control the French Schneider Creuzot works! The Sudeten-German mines were consolidated, by means of expropriating or cheaply buying out their chief shareholders, into the Sudetenlandische Bergbau AG. This concern founded the Sudetenlandische Treibstoffwerke AG, today one of the biggest producers of synthetic oil.

Just as the conquest of Austria was used to undermine Czechoslovakian economy even before the country was conquered, so was the conquest of Czechoslovakia used to facilitate infiltration into Balkan economy. In Rumania, for instance, local branches of the Skoda and Brno armament works were used to set up one of Goering's nephews in control of the Reshiza Works, which account for eighty percent of the steel production and fifty percent of the locomotive production of Rumania.

In Austria and Czechoslovakia the heavy industrial concerns taken over by German monopoly capitalism were at once geared up as integral sections of the machinery for war preparations. By the summer of 1939 both the Austrian and Czechoslovakian heavy industries had joined the German in working full blast for the coming war.

The forms of conquest, the methods of "collaboration" between the German monopolists and the big industrialists of the conquered countries vary in different countries. They are determined by the necessities of warfare, by the economic structure of the particular country, and by the place each country is assigned to fill in the New Order of Europe. For these reasons, for instance, methods used in France are widely different from those used in Poland. But, while the pattern may vary, the result is the same; the heavy industries of each country come under the control of the real rulers of Germany, the German monopolists of coal, iron, steel, and chemicals. And these industries are ordered to proceed at once to reach maximum production. The tanks leading the aggressor's attack upon the Soviet Union are not only of German, but also of Austrian, Czechoslovakian, French, and Belgian manufacture.

A FEW weeks after the end of the war against Poland the German monopolists founded the Haupttreuhandstelle Ost. This organization has the right to take over all Polish property if "the defense interests of the Reich require such action"; another excuse for such action is "the strengthening of Germandom." With these arguments the organization expropriated within a single year: 294 big industrial works, 9,000 medium-sized industrial works, 76,000 small industrial works, 9,120 big trading firms, 112,000 small trading firms.

The Koenigs-and Laurahuette mines were taken over by the Hermann Goering Works. The iron works of the same concern were given to the Roechling concern, which has its headquarters in the Saar territory. Krupp acquired the Bismarckhuette (coal and iron); the Fuerstengrube goes to the IG Farben (dye) trust. The enormous estates of the Wirek Kopalnie are divided between the three biggest estate owners of eastern Germany. Schaffgotsch gets fifty percent, Ballestrem gets thirty percent, and Donnersmark gets twenty percent. Each of these three estate owners and industrialists is estimated to have a family fortune of over 100,000,000 marks.

The Polish locomotive works, the Kattowitzer Lokomotivfabrik Chrzanow, were taken over by the biggest German locomotive concern, Henschel and Co., AG, Cassel.

In Poland almost every big industrial concern has simply been confiscated. The former owners received no compensation. This is plunder pure and simple. The capital gains of the big German industrialists are enormous. Mines, factories, and machinery worth hundreds of millions have come to them through the conquest of Poland.

In France, Belgium, and Holland the pattern of conquest and control is very different from that used in Poland. In these three countries the factories and concerns belonging to one industry are grouped together into one economic unit—a syndicate, a holding company, a ring, and so on. At the head of such a unit the German monopolists usually put a native quisling, who often has worked with the German monopolists for years. He is usually a member of the native fascist party.

In Holland, for instance, the fascist leader, Rost van Tonnigen, has been put at the head of the Central Bank. He and another Quisling, Dr. Fentener van Flissingen (connected with the rayon trust, Aku-Glanzstoff, and former president of the International Chamber of Commerce), formed and are now at the head of the National Committee of Economic Collaboration.

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While officially concluding economic agreements with German organizations, this National Committee is actually engaged in handing over Dutch industry to German monopolists. This somewhat indirect way of taking over Dutch industry is proving useful, for it makes possible such official pronouncements as: "A new Europe is in process of reconstruction . . . concerned with the prosperity of the European people and not with the interests of a group of capitalists. The peoples will not be shut off from each other, but will cooperate for the common good."

SUCH "cooperation" requires, of course, delivery of the whole of Dutch heavy industry into German hands. The German Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steelworks) received the lion's share in Holland. They netted the iron and steel works of Ymuiden and later the Van Leersche Iron Works. The chairman of the combine into which these works have been amalgamated is the above-mentioned Quisling, Fentener van Flissingen. The real power behind him, the German Ruhr magnate, Ernst Poensgen, with four other German industrialists, is content with a modest position on the directorate. However, these five form a majority!

The important Dutch power stations, which were not fully used after the closing down of so many factories producing consumer goods, are to be linked up with those of the Ruhr territory. In this way they are placed at the service of the German armaments industry.

The taking over of a number of Dutch banks (Koopmans Bank, Amsterdam, NV Rijinsche Handelsmanschappij, Handelstrust West NV, etc.) by the big German banks facilitates control over Dutch industry. Although these banks are now under the control of German banks, they keep their Dutch names. It is the expressed policy of the German banks to veil these proceedings in order to avoid a run on the deposits of the Dutch banks.

In France, as in Holland, numerous *comites d'organization* have been formed in order to facilitate the control of various industries. As in Holland, these committees are headed by native industrialists who have for many years been collaborating with their colleagues in Germany. Like their Dutch counterparts, they have often financed the fascist movements in their own country. Prominent among them was the automobile tire manufacturer Michelin, who died recently.

Collaboration between French and German heavy industry has always been close, while, at the same time, competition between them was often very bitter. At the annual meeting of the Hasper Iron and Steel Works in 1915, Peter Kloeckner, the leading German Catholic heavy industrialist, declared:

"The iron ore production of Germany amounts to only 3,000,000 tons annually, while that of France amounts to 10,000,000. At the same time the pig-iron industry of Germany is much bigger than that of France. Germany, moreover, has much more coal than France. It is only just, therefore, that France should give to Germany the iron-ore resources of Briey and Longwy, which she does not really need and of which she cannot make real use. This can easily be arranged by a trifling frontier rectification."

Because Germany lost the last war, Kloeckner lost all his iron ore property in Lorraine. Only his coal mines in Germany were left to him. Today the German monopolists are trying to make good the losses of the last war and to seize what they failed to seize then. Immediately after the last war the heavy industrialists of the two countries again began to work in collaboration. Roechling was a leading industrialist on the German side, and the de Wendel family was foremost on the French. These two formed common trusts like the ARBED and the HADIR Co., and the International Bank in Luxembourg. This collaboration was not interrupted by the present war. HADIR continued to send 3,000 tons of ore daily to Germany, and a few days before the big German offensive in the West the directors of the International Bank, Frenchmen and Germans, sat peacefully together to discuss business affairs.

The victorious offensive against France made it possible for the German monopolists not only to realize their aspirations of 1914, but to improve upon them considerably. The ore resources

From "The Black Book of Poland" published by G. P. Putnam's Sons

The advertising columns of the "Ostdeutscher Beobachter" listing the cafes, restaurants, etc., whose Polish owners (in the city of Poznan) have been expropriated. A number of restaurants have been renamed. Under the old trade names are given the names of the new Nazi managers.

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of Lorraine and the de Wendel Works in Lorraine and Luxembourg were taken over by the Hermann Goering Works. Other works were given in trust to a combined administrative committee of the Hermann Goering Works, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, and the Kloeckner Works. At the same time the German colliery owners guaranteed the supply of coal and coke to the "French" iron and steel works.

In addition to such direct measures of control, the banks are used to penetrate French industry, as in Holland. The International Bank in Luxembourg, that peaceful oasis of the monopolists of Germany and France during the first period of the present war, has floated a new holding company to purchase and finance industrial concerns, aimed at the exclusion of foreign interests (chiefly American). Lazard Freres, Credit Lyonnais, Banque de l'Unione Parisienne, and all the other well known French banks are under German domination, and so are the numerous French industrial concerns which these banks in turn control.

THE automobile industry in France has been reorganized, so that the French firms have been obliged to come to an "understanding" with the German and Italian concerns, which now dictate the types and methods of mass production and thus "give bread to 800,000 families," as a speaker on the French wireless has explained. The important Paris machine tool concern of Cuttat has come under the control of the Leipziger Maschinenfabrik Pittler AG. The German Dye Trust and the three biggest French chemical concerns have formed a central French chemical monopoly, called Francolor. A French quisling is president of the monopoly while the German Dye Trust controls fifty-one per cent of its shares.

French heavy industry is at present engaged in supporting the National Socialist war effort. Its factories are working, often at full capacity, and some are even expanding. The great automobile concern of Peugeot, for instance, is enlarging its capacity for the production of trucks. The iron and steel industry is working much better than is usually supposed. Rumors that it is working very badly are occasionally put out for deceptive purposes by semi-official German agencies. But on Oct. 19, 1941, the London *Sunday Times* reported: "The reequipping of most of the French armament factories is now complete and work is going ahead so far fairly free from the attentions of the RAF. The three great Hispano aircraft plants, Gnome, Rhone, and Salmson, have received large orders for airplane engines, which will keep them going, with renewals, probably until the end of the war. . . . [In] the great Loth factory at Neuilly-sur-Seine, near Paris . . . cannon, precision instruments, bombsights, and blind landing and aircraft detection instruments are turned out. Most of the new output goes to restock German military stores in western Europe, since accumulated stores have been sent to Russia; the vast Renault works at Billancourt and Ivry-sur-Seine are turning out tanks on a long range contract, often on the basis of parts sent from Germany."

This extract clearly shows how important French works under German control are working full blast for the war against this country and, for the present especially, against the Soviet Union.

IN BELGIUM the program of industrial reorganization is combined with the program of "changing the racial structure of industry." Flemish industry is to be furthered at the expense of the Walloon because "the Flemish people are racially nearer to the German people than the Walloons." The province of Limbourg is to become a second Ruhr territory. But the "racial reconstruction of Belgian industry" does not prevent the German monopolists from acquiring control over all the important works.

The Flemish people are really destined to be nothing more than the superior of two grades of servants. The Otto Wolff AG, well known as international heavy industrial promoters even in the time of the Kaiser, have taken over part of the share capital in the iron works of d'Ougree Marihay; the Vereinigte Stahlwerke acquired shares in the John Cockerill Co.; Kloeckner and Hugo Stinnes have founded a company for the purchase of Belgian mining interests. All the well known names reappear in Belgium. As usual German monopolists take over. Control of the Belgian banks, just as in Holland and France, facilitates penetration into numerous concerns. The Dye Trust reappears with shares in the Solvay concern and in the Union Chimique Belge.

Belgian heavy industry is engaged in producing for the fascist war effort. If there has been any change, it is toward more intense use of capacity. Everywhere in western Europe industrial works are engaged in producing the means of destruction.

In Denmark and Norway, conquered by the National Socialists, the coal, iron, and steel industries play a minor role. In these countries, however, the power industry has been developed to a very high degree, and the National Socialists are continuing this development. Plans exist for the creation of a combination of power stations, based upon water power and designed to furnish electricity for a large part of Europe. In February 1941 a German-Norwegian company was founded in order to increase considerably the generation of electricity. It is said that the increase is to be 10,000,000,000 kwh, of which the greater part is to be carried over cables to the Continent. In Denmark, also, new power stations are being constructed.

THE German Dye Trust is extremely active in Norway and Denmark. The leading Norwegian chemical concern, Norsk Hydro El Kvaelstof, has always been within its sphere of influence; this concern is now actually controlled by the Dye Trust. They are jointly erecting a plant for the production of light metals, and another for the production of aluminum oxide. In Denmark the Danish Sulphuric Acid and Superphosphate Co. is working under the control of the German Dye Trust.

In the Balkan countries heavy industry is considerably less developed than in the western or even the northern countries of Europe. The interest of German heavy industry is here chiefly concerned with raw materials, i.e. oil, ferrous and non-ferrous ores. True, there is also some production of iron and steel and their manufactures, and this production is being expanded under pressure of the needs of the German war machine. But oil and ore are the chief immediate interest in the Balkans.

The Kontinentale Oel AG, under the chairmanship of Funk, the German Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, has the task of coordinating all Continental oil-producing activities. One of the first acts of this company was the foundation of a subsidiary company in Rumania for the control of the output of that country. In Hungary the German Wintershall AG acquired all oil rights, thus ejecting Standard Oil from the advantageous position it had previously held. The capital of the Kontinentale Oel AG is 80,000,000 marks (the Hermann Goering Works started with a capital of only 5,000,000 marks!). Though this company does business on a continental scale and though it is headed by a member of the German Cabinet, the big German monopolists are its real owners. Thus the German trusts control the whole of the European oil industry, partly directly and partly through Kontinentale.

The production of Balkan ores, which formerly was to a large extent in the hands of British and French capital (as was also the oil industry), and, to a smaller extent, controlled by some of the Balkan states, has become a Nazi enterprise.

This short account of the conquest of European heavy industry by German monopoly capital should be sufficient to show the methods and scope of the process.

Heavy industry is being taken over and reorganized to form a widespread net of centers producing the means of destruction. It is actively engaged in producing the tools by means of which German fascism intends to enslave mankind and suppress everything we mean by civilization in Europe.

JURGEN KUCZYNSKI and M. WITT.

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TRUMPET OF LARES

Why the pilgrims come each year, on September 23, to the small mountain town in Puerto Rico to honor the men of 1868. Juan Corretjer, nationalist, tells of his country's dream of freedom.

The author of this article is a Puerto Rican nationalist; he was recently released from Atlanta Penitentiary after serving a six-year term as an aftermath of the repressions upon the nationalists in 1935. NEW MASSES *prints his contribution as an expression of opinion on the problem of Puerto Rico, a problem of concern not only to the people of that country but to Americans both of the United States and the whole hemisphere. Quite frankly there are problems of emphasis and tactics in which we would disagree with Mr. Corretjer. It strikes us that one of the things missing in his eloquent plea for independence is any reference to the concrete issues of the war before the Puerto Rican people. We are in favor of the right of Puerto Rican independence, but in the specific political situation in which the governor, Guy Rexford Tugwell, is more or less allied with progressive and trade union elements in the effort to solve the immediate problems of Puerto Rico's food supply and self-defense against the opposition of demagogues and outright Falangistas, our concentration would be at least as much on solving these immediate issues as on the absolutely justified demand for independence. We do not know how many of the author's comrades in the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico see this clearly; perhaps not enough. But their point of view, nonetheless, is one that deserves to be heard and thought about in this country.—The Editors.*

LARES is a small town in the center of the land of Borinquen —the Indian name for the island of Puerto Rico. Some seventy years ago the town was about one-third the size it is today. It was, and still is, a very peaceful mountain town living from its good coffee farms. At the center of the town there is the inevitable old Catholic temple. The City Hall faces the church, and police headquarters flanks the municipal building. In the square between them there is a small monument. American-made cars roll over the streets as peaceful citizens go about their everyday business.

Once a year, on September 23, a trumpet call crowds the little town with thousands of pilgrims. They come to pay homage to a handful of men who, on Sept. 23, 1868, in this little town, declared themselves free from the Spanish yoke and proclaimed the independent and sovereign Republic of Puerto Rico. In the past they came also to hear the oratory of Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of Puerto Rico's Nationalist Party. For many years they have not heard that beloved voice. It is silenced behind the walls of the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta. This year they will go again as always to the pretty little town in the mountains to pledge themselves to the recreation of the Puerto Rican republic.

Lares and its history are the culmination of a long revolutionary underground movement, thoughtfully and carefully planned by men of extraordinary talents. Educated in the best universities of Europe and the United States, they were all with heart and mind dedicated to the more or less romantic revolutionary theories common to the Americas of that time.

The great revolutionist of nineteenth century Puerto Rico, Ramon Emeterio Betances, was a noted physician. He was also a geographer, sociologist, journalist, literateur, dramatist, poet, translator of Wendell Phillips, and defender of the Jews at the time of the worst anti-Semitic feeling in France. This remarkable man was awarded the highest decoration ever bestowed on a foreigner for his medical work during the cholera epidemic in Paris.

BETANCES was born at Cabo Rojo, on the extreme western tip of the island, of a wealthy landed family. After completing his education at the Sorbonne in France, he returned to his native land. He spent his whole heritage in buying up slaves in order to give them their liberty. His path to supreme leadership of the revolutionary independence movement was not difficult. His plan was broad and human. The republic must not be born with the shameful brand of Negro slavery upon it. It was not to fall in the lap of the clerics. It could not be born alone. The sister island of Cuba was not yet free from Spanish tyranny. Betances' plan was for a synchronized uprising on both islands. With both islands freed, the Confederation of the Great Antilles would be formed into Antillian Confederacy—a great democratic nation, with a maritime destiny equal to the British.

This was not the day dream of a single man. This was no day dream. Betances had the support and assistance of a large staff of revolutionists. Among them were such writers as Hostos, who became the philosopher of the movement and who said: "We must organize the Antilles into a democracy, until we are prepared for a more socially advanced form of government." Betances had studied the economic potentialities of the great Caribbean Islands. He was envisioning those islands united by a constitution, inhabited by a healthy and intelligent people, governed by wise, generous, and scrupulous statesmen.

Of course, the Spanish lion was watching. Betances was arrested in 1867 and brought into the presence of General Marchesi, the Spanish governor general. Marchesi told Betances that he was going to have him hanged. Betances answered that on that day he would surely sleep more peacefully than the general. Marchesi finally ordered Betances and his first lieutenant, Ruiz Belvis, to the capital of Spain for safekeeping. But they escaped in a little boat and got to the Dominican Republic from which they continued their work and planned the uprising that culminated in Lares.

IN THE planning and the execution of the revolution two citizens of the United States took part. One was a scoundrel who defrauded the revolution and left the rebels without rifles. His hated name does not count. The other was a revolutionist, a hero, and martyr to the independence of Puerto Rico. His name was Matthias Broockman, of Louisiana, a name dear to every Puerto Rican patriot.

The outbreak—the *Grito*—as we call it, was to come late in September or early in October. Manuel Rosado, better known in Puerto Rican tradition as *El Lenero* (The Lumberman) because he went around disguised as a lumberman, has become in the hearts of the Puerto Rican people their Paul Revere. He traveled throughout the country. Wherever he went he was welcomed. All was in readiness—and then the plans were betrayed. The Spaniards got wind of the preparations. The leaders at Arecibo and Camuy were arrested. A secret meeting was called by the remaining patriots and it was decided to strike. On the night of September 22 a little army gathered at the Hacienda Pezuela, some miles from the town of Lares. It was a little army, but it was an army of liberation—and what army of liberation is little? Gen. Manuel Rojas took command. And they marched toward Lares to keep their rendezvous with history.

At daybreak they were in sight of the town. As the splendid aurora of the Caribbean skies spread over the green country-

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side, the liberators attacked. The Spanish garrison awaited them, armed with European discipline, the confidence of centuries of military tradition, powerful weapons, fixed bayonets. The liberators rushed on them with revolutionary faith, the faith that is happiness, courage. The scene was probably a replica of Lexington. The people were armed only with their desire for freedom, a few rifles, pistols, and a machete in every man's hand. And they carried the day. The town was taken.

With the silence of the last gun they started to give their country a provisional government. The merchant Francisco Ramirez was elected president of the republic by the acclaiming army of the people. They drafted a provisional constitution, liberal and almost populist. Every one of the members of the elected government, the commander of the Army, and almost every officer were anti-Catholic and anti-clerical. Many of them were Freemasons. But the people were Catholic. The government bowed to the popular will. And patriot Father Vega was delighted to sing a *Te Deum* and to bless the Banner of the Revolution.

THEN there was popular rejoicing. There was the passionate ringing of the church bells, the clamorous, innocent joy of the people. The crowd was summoned to the Plaza, and the president proclaimed every person of the Negro race in the island of Puerto Rico free from the bonds of slavery.

Commander Rojas was not idle. He was planning the attack on El Pepino, he was going to take El Pepino as he had taken Lares. Later he would descend toward Aguadilla, and from the sea town he would spread the domain of liberty over the country. Puerto Rico was to be purified by the triumphant fire of the revolution.

The overwhelming military superiority of the Spanish king's forces defeated the rebels. General Rojas was killed in action. His General Staff died to a man. The army itself, disbanded, fought doggedly in guerrilla warfare for weeks. They were surrounded in little groups. They died fighting. El Lenero, who had become the standard bearer, died under his flag. Broockman died in the mountains, fighting with his machete, after his last cartridge was gone.

Betances, hurrying from Santo Domingo, had not come in time to throw the strength of his personality into the struggle. For the remaining twenty years of his life he lived in exile, planning, working for the Cuban-Puerto Rican revolution as plenipotentiary delegate to European capitals. He died soon after the invasion of Puerto Rico by American armed forces. His last words were: "I didn't want to be a colony of Spain and we don't want to be a colony of the United States." A Haitian friend who witnessed his last hours has written: "The news of the destiny of Puerto Rico, passing from one hand to the other, killed Betances." Today he is a Latin American hero. In a cigarette box I bought once in Havana I found his portrait, its caption urging the Cuban people to honor his memory as one of the fathers of their country.

That is why Puerto Ricans will once again be in Lares this twenty-third day of September. To the monument that is in the Plaza men and women will come to pay homage to the memory of the men who founded with their blood the fatherland of our coming generations, they will come from east and west and north and south. Lawyers and doctors and writers from San Juan and Ponce and Mayaguez. Workingmen, chauffeurs, salesmen, students. They will respond to the trumpet call that resounds from the hills of Lares. They will go to reassert that they still carry on the revolutionary tradition of the Puerto Rican people, wanting to be free now as they wanted to be then.

That trumpet call is no longer heard in Puerto Rico alone. It has many listeners in America, South and Central and North. And that trumpet call is crying to the world that America is not totally free and will not and cannot be while Puerto Rico weeps.

BUT official United States does not still want to hear. They still insist on denying us the rights to freedom we have won in a hundred years' struggle, the rights the free nations of the world are fighting now to save. It is an official Washington mistake that is a hemispheric mistake. Hemispheric solidarity is not a joint resolution of inter-American bureaucracies. It has to be a Western Hemisphere unity with the people's consent. It is a fact obscured from the people of the United States that the people of Spanish-America find it difficult to see any change in the imperialistic status of the Western Hemisphere when Puerto Rico, a Latin American nation, is kept under United States intervention. It is common talk in Spanish America that so long as Puerto Rico's right to independence is not acknowledged by the government of the United States, the conviction remains that what happens to Puerto Rico today might happen to any other Spanish American nation tomorrow.

Let the trumpet call of Lares be heard in the White House. Let it be heard everywhere throughout the United States.

JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER.

Statesmen at Work

"MR. McCORMACK: If the bill were reported on Friday, of course, it would not be called up on Sunday, but if it were reported on Tuesday it would be called up on Thursday; if reported on Wednesday it would be called up on Friday; and if reported on Thursday it would be called up on Saturday. We hope to be able to dispose of the bill next week.

"Mr. Michener: I agree with the gentleman as to the necessity for action if we are going to have any action."

"Congressional Record"—The House, Sept. 9, 1942.

. . . Or So To Speak

"THIS is a delightful book in which classical scholarship becomes, so to speak, a springboard for urbane philosophical reflection of perennial pertinence, and a collection of impersonal essays takes on something of the nature of a subsurface autobiography. The challenge is not flung forth dogmatically; the author's erudition is as subtle as it is capacious; and a charm of whimsical enlightenment gives special flavor to his book." Book review in the New York "Times."

Note to Mr. Hays

THE Japanese-controlled radio hires script writers with imagination. One of its most recent reports concerns Hollywood, which, it tells us, has been badly crippled by the war—so crippled, in fact, that production has ceased entirely. Further, stars such as Jeanette MacDonald and Shirley Temple are living in luxurious underground caves in the inland mountains of the Mississippi.

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NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

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Laval and Franco Prepare

IN TWO countries, with which the United States has had very unusual relations, relations that go by the name of "appeasement," things are clearly coming to a head. One of these is Spain, the other is France. Two weeks ago the Spanish dictator, Franco, reorganized his Cabinet, took over control of the Falangist party, replaced his Foreign Minister, Serrano Suner, and his Ministers of Interior and War. This came hard on the heels of a project for the "cultural rehabilitation" of Spain, concocted by our new ambassador, Carleton J. Hayes, and apparently sold to the President by the State Department, despite the misgivings of Vice-Pres. Henry Wallace. Some people believed that the reorganization in Spain was largely of an internal nature, the result of factional quarrels among the Spanish fascists. Others thought that Franco was reciprocating the gesture from Washington. But in any case, it is clear that Spain is approaching a more active policy. Brazil's entry into the war, the reports of a Nazi counterblow by occupying Dakar, the general Mediterranean orientation of the Axis military drive, clearly mean trouble.

Almost simultaneously come the reports that Pierre Laval has finally decided to conscript all Frenchmen from eighteen to fifty for compulsory labor. Apparently the voluntary labor projects by which Laval hoped to satisfy German demands did not succeed. Hitler is in a hurry, both on the Eastern Front and in fortification of the Western Front. Laval is openly doing his bidding by enslaving the reluctant, resisting French worker. A few days earlier two leaders of the French Republic, Edouard Herriot, the old Radical-Socialist and president of the dissolved Chamber of Deputies, and Jules Jeanneny, president of the dissolved Senate, bitterly attacked Marshal Petain. They accused him of leading France back into the war, declared that he was risking terrific chaos, made clear that he had broken all the pledges under which he took power, and openly stated their sympathy with the cause of freedom and an independent France. Both these events are likewise unmistakable. France is heading for war; the French people's resistance is greater than ever before.

America has an acute obligation in both respects. The policy of "babying" Petain and Laval along has clearly broken down; they have not been "babied" at all, but are definitely and clearly throwing their lot in with Hitler, with whom they were, of course, always tied. On the heels of this collapse of appeasement of Vichy the State Department is obviously trying a new cycle of appeasement with Franco—but this must have the same result.

Even last minute appeasement will not do. Nor will it gain us time. The time the State Department thinks it is gaining is being used by the fascists for *their* preparations *against* a second front. Alongside of a rupture of relations with Franco and Laval the second front becomes the indispensable stroke of our foreign policy, which alone will make sense to Americans and enlist the power of the conquered peoples for the final showdown.

They Look to Us

ONE of the really illuminating paradoxes is the contrast between the hesitation on the second front and the decisiveness of the British Cabinet on India. The paradox was brought home once again last week in Prime Minister Churchill's statement, a statement that is bound to worry the British public, aggravate matters within India, and alarm the rest of the United Nations. In one breath Churchill declared that India was now gripped by "revolutionary" disturbances, which were affecting communications in the key northwestern provinces of Bengal and Assam; in another breath he minimized the All-India National Congress, and did something that is bound to be as irritating as it is untrue, namely, charge the Congress with being non-representative, even of the Hindu masses. He boasted that the civil disobedience campaign had not affected India's "martial classes," at the same time he revealed a certain lack of faith in the loyalty of even the Sikhs and Gurkas when he announced that "white" reinforcements had arrived in India to a greater number than at any previous time "in the British connection." All in all, it was clear from this speech that the Cabinet intends no compromise—despite the eleventh hour character of the situation, the protest of many Labor MP's, and the increasingly vocal dismay of American public opinion.

The result is, according to the recently arrived New York *Times* correspondent Herbert L. Matthews, that the hopes of India's "moderate" elements, who were seeking some kind of compromise, have been dashed. The Prime Minister's allegations were almost immediately answered within India; many prominent independents such as the Moslem Hyat Sikander Khan, of Punjab, replied that there was no doubt as to the sympathy of millions of Moslems with the Congress aims. Matthews predicted that violence is bound to flare up even more intensely by way of answer to the Prime Minister's confidence that things were calming down, just as happened after a recent statement to the same effect by the Secretary of State for Colonies, Leopold Amery.

One ray of hope is the sober awakening of many sections of American opinion as to the reality that India may be lost as a bastion of the United Nations. Raymond Clapper in a column last week expressed this alarm. Significantly the International Student Assembly meeting in Washington, more or less under administration auspices, called for the reopening of negotiations. And the opinion of the *Times,* subtly reflected in the dispatches of Matthews, begins to show a definite change.

The world looks to America for "leadership, not benevolent neutrality," is the opinion of the magazine *Amerasia* in its September issue. Leadership—to solve a problem which is no longer British, but a life and death matter for the United Nations—was never more urgently needed.

The Night Riders Fall Down

SOME of the South's most prominent night riders have taken two tumbles in the past week, and may get another soon. On the very day that the House of Representatives passed the Ramsey bill permitting soldiers to vote without paying a poll tax, Gov. "Gene" Talmadge was notified by Georgia voters that he might as well turn in his famous red suspenders for rubber salvage. Not only did the Ramsey bill pass—it went through by a 247-to-53 majority, practically over the dead bodies of leading Dixie demagogues. It did them no good to try to prevent a quorum in the House. And it did no good to ring every charge on states' rights and the "destruction of our government." Nearly 250 congressmen knew better. They knew that the real destruction of democratic government can arise from just such violations of the Constitution as the poll tax embodies. It is likely now that the whole poll-tax structure will be razed. Only ten signatures, at this writing, are required to bring the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill out of committee and on the floor for discussion and vote. The fight is not won yet; but it can be

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pushed to a quick and certain conclusion.

The victory in Georgia, a poll-tax state, is another fine blow against "white supremacy." Talmadge went down under a near landslide, losing to Ellis Arnall, a Roosevelt supporter. "Gene" campaigned almost exclusively on his promise to "keep the Negroes in their place" by the notorious Talmadge method of whip and boot. His defeat is undoubtedly a shock to the Horace Wilkinsons who have been planning to bring back the days when nighthoods were in flower. Which makes it all the more a victory for America—a victory in this war.

"Discomfort or Defeat"

THERE'S far more hard sense than optimism in the report turned in by President Roosevelt's special Rubber Investigating Committee, headed by Bernard Baruch. "Military and civilian collapse" will overtake us if the rubber shortage isn't remedied, the committee says. Its proposals, which have been widely publicized, include: expansion of synthetic rubber production to 1,100,000 tons a year; nationwide rationing of gasoline to save tires; a speed limit of thirty-five miles an hour; compulsory tire inspection; and appointment of a national rubber administrator with "full responsibility and authority for all aspects of the rubber program."

One might dispute some of the committee's conclusions, for example, the relative lack of emphasis on production of rubber-from-alcohol as against the slower and costlier rubber-from-petroleum process. But the recommendations in general help point the way out of the shambles created by Chairman Jesse Jones of the Rubber Reserve Corp. Without naming Jones or any other individuals or agencies, the report makes one especially sharp criticism of past policies: the failure to accept the Soviet offer of last February of the synthetic rubber process Russia has been using for ten years, a failure which the committee calls "inexplicable." Pointing out that the USSR has been first or second in such production, and that "The Soviet has expressed a willingness always to be cooperative," the committee urges that we now get together with our Soviet ally and obtain its "know how" on synthetic rubber.

Another sharp note occurs in the committee's warning against civilian waste of rubber through unnecessary driving. Mr. Baruch and the other committee members—President Compton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and President Conant of Harvard—recommend a gasoline rationing that will cut even the *necessary* civilian driving to an average of 5,000 miles a year. It's "discomfort or defeat," the report warns. And "each time a motorist turns a wheel in unnecessary driving, he must realize that it is a turn of the wheel against our soldiers and in favor of Hitler."

It took the committee scarcely a month to probe the rubber situation, and deliver its report to the President. After the bickering, indecision, and playing favorites that have marked Jesse Jones' administration of rubber, it is heartening to have a straightforward program and a real hope of early action.

Oklahoma Spectacle

THERE are certain officials of Oklahoma who seem to be trying desperately to take that state out of the Union and into Hitler's Third Reich. With our country engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the Axis they are continuing their efforts to enforce Hitler's ban on anti-fascist literature by sending to jail four young men and women for possessing books that can be found in public libraries throughout the country.

Last week attorneys for the International Labor Defense appeared before the Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals to argue the cases of the four "criminal syndicalism" defendants who last year were sentenced to ten years in jail for possessing books by Karl Marx, Joseph Stalin, and other Marxist thinkers. As we go to press, the judges have not yet handed down their opinion, but the circumstances under which the appeal was argued can hardly be called reassuring. One of the judges, Thomas H. Doyle, refused to sit, issuing a statement that the attorneys had forfeited the right to be heard because they had criticized the people and courts of Oklahoma. (Needless to say, there was no criticism of the people of Oklahoma, who are not responsible for their irresponsible, pro-fascist state officials.) On the day argument was to begin, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, outstanding win-the-war member of Congress who heads the defense counsel, had to be in Washington to vote on the soldiers' vote bill. The other attorneys, Samuel A. Neuberger, Herman Rosenfeld, and Stanley D. Belden, asked for a continuance, but the court refused.

The prosecutor's brief filed against the defendants was in the true Goebbels spirit. It was studded with attacks on America's ally, the Soviet Union, and on progressive organizations at home. Marcantonio was quite right in characterizing it as "direct aid to Hitler."

Citrine Reports

London (by wireless).

THE Trade Union Congress vote regarding a second front was of the highest significance. It was significant not only because of the huge though losing vote (1,526,000 to 3,584,000)—unthinkable three months ago—for the immediate opening of a second front, but also because of the fact that the TUC unanimously declared its support for the opening of a Western Front as soon as possible. It is wrong to interpret this vote as a vote for any delay in a second front. On the contrary. It is a great advance that the TUC should vote unanimously now in favor of a second front when one considers that a few months ago even this apparently innocuous vote would have been regarded as a dangerous challenge to the strategical experts of the high command.

The next point is provided by the somewhat squalid uproar produced by Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the TUC, in his attempt to defend his activities in the United States. [The Washington correspondent of the London *Times* has accused Citrine of delaying international trade union unity by refusing to discuss fraternal relations with the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Citrine on his recent visit here dealt exclusively with the AFL.] Citrine claimed that it was unwarranted interference on the part of the government which resulted in the elevation of what he called purely trade union questions into the complicated political sphere. This of course is puerile nonsense, though it is a certain indication of Citrine's political thinking and is a pointer to the sort of absurdities which have to be dealt with even at this time of day. One would have supposed that it was impossible for a trade union leader of Citrine's experience to make so naive a statement at a moment when the mobilization and maximum unification of the trade unions here, in the United States, and in the Soviet Union, is a self-evident matter of life and death.

Nevertheless this episode, with its exposure of inadequacy—admitted in fact by Citrine himself—of earlier TUC attitudes and arrangements for international trade union unity, can well be the starting point for much better things. It is probably inevitable that the matter should not have come to any full discussion at the Congress and that Citrine should have had the floor to himself since the whole question was only detonated at the last moment, giving little opportunity to unofficial speakers to take part in the debate. It can, however, be assumed that this was not an end but a beginning, and that if a free vote had been taken at the Congress asking whether delegates desire a new start with a proper approach to the CIO, there would have been an enormous vote supporting such a proposal.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

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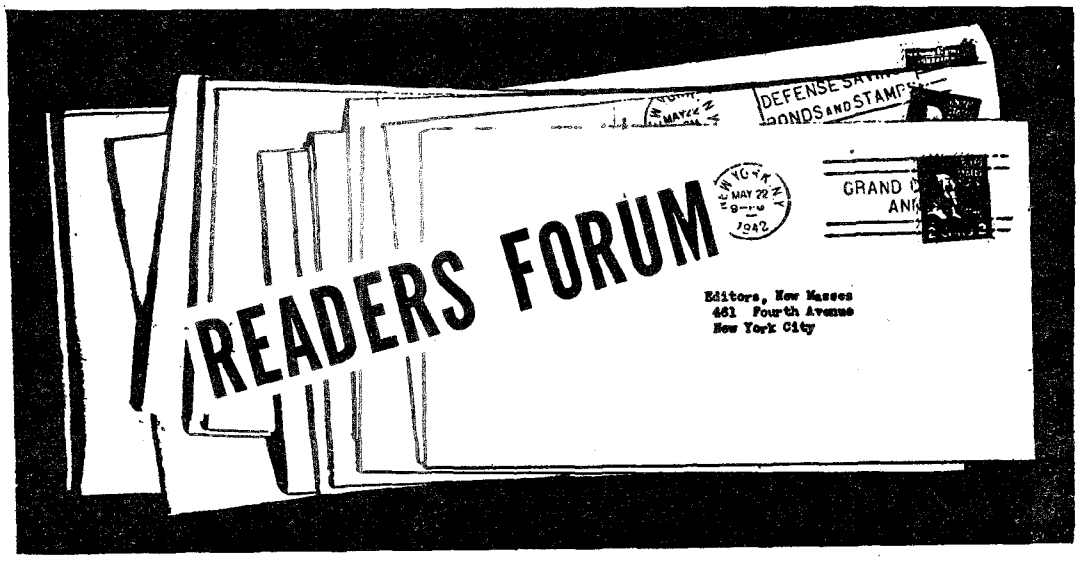


A Negro at the Student Assembly

TO NEW MASSES: A few days ago I sat through the sessions of the International Student Assembly in Washington. I went to this conference feeling a tremendous personal stake both as an American and a Negro. I know, as an American, that the price of a fascist victory would be the total destruction of my country's democratic heritage, its culture, and its vast resources. I knew that the democratic fabric, which at least permits of struggle against the evils of Jim Crow, would be uprooted.

I went to this conference looking to the youth of my own country as well as to the heroic youth of China, India, Britain, and the Soviet Union—to the youth of the world—for guidance. I sought the answer to the question, "How best can Negro youths, like myself, make their maximum contribution to the annihilation of the fascist enemy?"

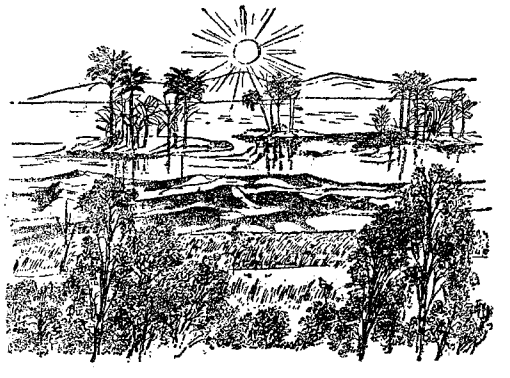
I heard the answer in the speech of the Indian delegate who, amidst thunderous applause, demanded the immediate freedom of India so that the energies and strength of the Indian people might be thrown against the Japanese aggressors. I heard the answer in the speech of the scholarly Dr. Hu Shih, retiring Chinese ambassador, who urged that we "pledge support to the *minimum* program of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms." And who said further that a minimum of that minimum would have to be "an effective system of genuine collective security." I saw the answer when the delegates rose to cheer and applaud twenty-six-year-old Lieut Lyudmila Pavlichenko when she called for the immediate opening of a second front in Europe in 1942 and urged that all young people of the United Nations "multiply their war efforts in plants, factories, and fields. To acquire military skill to get themselves ready for the crucial battles. To help their governments to fulfill their pledges."

I heard the answer in the speech of President Roosevelt, who declared that we are fighting for a "real world civilization," in which, for the first time the cultures of Asia, Europe, and the Americas would be joined.

The answer lay in a most thoroughgoing understanding of the character of this war as a people's war in which the liberties of those fighting for their independence and freedom must be extended. It lay in an understanding of the true spirit of internationalism which enables all peoples to see beyond differences in homeland, color, and nationality, to recognize the common peril which faces us. It lay in learning of the specific ways the Chinese, British, Soviet, and other youth are contributing to winning this just war.

AFTER the last public session of the assembly was over, and before the delegates and observers held their final meeting, I tried to talk with the Soviet youth. I was curious about these young people whose homeland knew no barriers of race or religion. They were being crowded by autograph hunters out in the lobby of the Labor Department auditorium. Senior Lieut. Vladimir Pchelintsev, who killed 152 Germans with 154 bullets, good-naturedly signed programs for the young people who swarmed about him. I couldn't get near him until his interpreter had explained to the crowd that it was the lieutenant's "duty" to attend the final session. As the two of them started to pass me and enter the auditorium, I touched the interpreter on the shoulder and told him that I would like to speak to the lieutenant.

Though they had just excused themselves from a tremendous crowd of admirers, they pulled me through the door with them into the auditorium. There I told the interpreter how Negro youth were united with Soviet youth in their struggle against Hitlerism. I told him that we would redouble our efforts in America to guarantee the opening of a second front in '42. When his interpreter had told him what I had said, a smile swept over the lieutenant's face and he took my hand in the warmest handshake I have ever experienced. Russian words flooded from his lips while he held my hand. His interpreter told me that he was saying how near the Negro people were to the Soviet people and that he was extremely proud and happy to meet me. I was happily embarrassed that he could take the time to more than shake my hand and say "Thanks." Yet, when I tried to go, he held me as if to say, "I wish I could talk to you some more." As I started to turn, he threw his arm around me in a rough but affectionate hug.



AS I mingled with the many delegates I saw the future society in microcosm. In it, as at the conference, the British and Indian representatives could accept the mediation proposals of the Chinese representative. In it, as at the conference, a New Zealand representative could criticize America for its actions toward Puerto Rico and get an ovation from Americans as well as all others. In it, as at the conference, all could work toward the building of a healthier and stronger world.

Call me a dreamer if you will. But I live in Washington where the best anti-fascist films are shown only at the Jim Crow theaters whose thresholds I can cross only if I carry a mop and pail. I can get an education only in Jim Crow schools and colleges. I can eat only in Jim Crow cafeterias with the exception of a few government cafeterias. Despite a serious need for streetcar and bus operators, the Capital Transit Co. refuses to hire Negroes in any capacity, and says that it will not be "black-jacked" into hiring them at the risk of offending the "public." Add to this the national segregation in the Army, Navy, and Air Force—the beatings and lynchings of Negro soldiers and civilians alike—and the organizing of the League for White Supremacy.

This is the rotten cancer which is eating the heart out of our war effort. If it goes unchecked the result can only be disastrous. It already affects the Negro people deeply. China, India, the second front, democracy, the Atlantic Charter, The Four Freedoms—these all sound remote to men and women who live in a continual depression and who have never known any democracy to speak of.

THIS is the problem and what are we going to do about it? In brief, it means a large scale offensive against the American bourbons who support these conditions. It means rallying all people's organizations for an all-out struggle through demonstrative actions to grant the Negro people their just demands. We can't wage a progressive war unless we declare war on injustice at home. Hitler's agents in this country must be uprooted. This is what a people's war means to us.

And all about abounds the evidence that this *is* a people's war in which it is our sacred duty to "seek out the enemy and destroy him." The government assumed the leadership in this regard by enlisting Negroes in the Air Corps, Navy, Coast Guard, and Marines. The President's Executive Order 8802 banned discrimination in defense industries "because of race, creed, or color." Trade unions and progressive organizations have accepted the challenge by vigorously protesting the abuses of the rights of Negroes as American citizens. The strength of the anti-poll tax campaign attests to this. We must intensify all similar campaigns and initiate others.

NEGRO youth carry arms at the sides of their brothers throughout the world with the firm realization that the noble phrase "regardless of race, creed, or color" *shall* be more than a last minute addition to a resolution. With the firm realization that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms shall apply as *minimum* guarantees for all. The Negro people are in this war till victory.

DICK ANDERSON.

Washington, D. C.

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THE TERMITE TRADITION

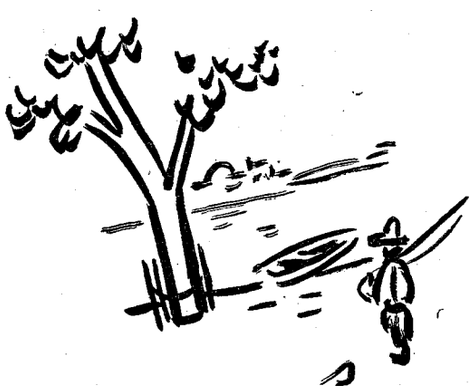
How the secret agents of the Confederacy conspired against Lincoln. The men the soldiers called "peace sneaks." "Forgotten chapters" of our history that must be remembered today.

IN EACH of our four great people's wars, the fifth column at home has been as serious an obstacle to victory as the enemy forces in the field. Carl Van Doren's *Secret History of the American Revolution* has reminded us, at an appropriate hour, of the vast and cynical conspiracies that nearly ruined our first war for freedom. The "Blue Light" Federalists of 1812 earned their name by signaling to enemy squadrons off the New England coast. In the dark days of 1862, as Sen. Charles Sumner noted at the time, Lincoln feared "the fire in the rear . . . more than our military chances." And just eighty years later President Roosevelt is confronted with organized gangs of defeatists and appeasers who are determined to succeed where Benedict Arnold and Clement L. Vallandigham failed.

We have much to learn from the experiences of our past wars, but most of all, I think, from the pattern of treachery which has, at each critical period, imperiled our existence. Yet there has always been a certain reluctance on the part of American historians to give this theme its due importance. There are several reasons for this weakness, but the main reason is not, as we are likely to assume, the unavailability of materials. One reason is a desire to give a unilateral interpretation of our history, as if the conception of unremitting struggle between progress and reaction would violate our school-age lesson of an ever unified and ever triumphant nation with a cohesive sense of destiny. In an effort to "heal the wounds," historians have too often distorted facts about Tory activity in the Revolutionary era and Bourbon activity in the period of Reconstruction. Some writers appear to feel that the disgraceful conduct of various groups of Americans implies disgrace for America as a whole, as if our democratic victories were not all the more imposing for the very real difficulties that we had to surmount.

BUT our "forgotten chapters" are always rediscovered in crisis, and it is a healthy sign of our war-stimulated realism that more and more books are telling us that if this is the toughest of all our wars, the others have been sufficiently tough to test our endurance. When Earl Browder published his essay on *Traitors in American History* a few years ago, there was no widespread disposition to heed fully his warning that the Copperhead virus had infected our national life in the past and that victory over fascism could be assured only after this virus had been burned out of our system. The appearance of a work like *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads,* by Prof. Wood Gray of George Washington University (Viking, $3.75), together with William Blake's novel *The Copperheads,* and a forthcoming volume on *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column,* by George Fort Milton, shows that a consciousness of the defeatist threat today is driving writers back to a similar threat in the Civil War, just as the present war heightened Mr. Van Doren's appreciation of "the fire in the rear" during our War of Independence.

There is dramatic value in titles that stress the "secret" character of one war and the "hidden" character of another. But it is also dangerous to give the impression that the fifth column can be detected by historians only 100 years later. The whole point of Professor Gray's book, for example, is not that defeatism was primarily a hidden movement, but that it had open and even official expression in the press, in political conventions, in certain administration circles, and in Congress. I think this is worth stressing. For there is nothing essentially mysterious about the fifth column, and our real danger is not that we lack the detective's subtlety in following its subterranean operations. Our real danger is that we fail to see it right in front of us, palpable as a field cannon. The very brazenness of the New York *Daily News* and the Chicago *Tribune* sometimes blinds us to the immediacy of their intent. The main value of a book like *The Hidden Civil* War is that it describes in such detail what the traitors did not hide, but publicized with every force at their command. Behind them, to be sure, were secret conspiratorial organizations like the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Sons of Liberty (who had impudently appropriated the name of a great Revolutionary organization), but these treasonable groups found their most effective expression in the press and in legislative chambers.



Professor Gray's study is confined to the Midwest, where he believes the defeatist movement had its greatest strength during the Civil War. He is only incidentally concerned with figures like Fernando Wood of New York and Thomas Seymour of Connecticut. This is therefore a limited picture. But there is a compensating advantage in concentration, and this work, based on meticulous research, though insufficient analysis, is certainly the most complete record of the Copperhead movement in Vallandigham's Ohio, James C. Robinson's Illinois, Daniel Wolsey Voorhees' Indiana, and the neighboring states, that has ever appeared. If the author does not himself underline the parallels with our own day, he has provided materials which, as he says, suggest parallels that "implicitly and inescapably . . . point to the future as well as to an earlier past."

THE South counted on foreign aid, on superior military leadership, and geographical advantage; but most of all, especially after these factors had failed, it counted on its belief that the North would not fight wholeheartedly. The Copperhead opposition to Lincoln and the war was therefore an integral part of Confederate strategy. For the arming of the insurrectionary Sons of Liberty in the North, the Confederacy regarded $500,000 as none too extravagant. Plans for creating a "Western Confederacy" after a Copperhead uprising were negotiated between ex-Congressman Vallandigham of Ohio and the southern commissioner Jacob Thompson. The Confederate Secretary of War entrusted Capt. Thomas H. Hines with the task of promoting disaffection in the Midwest. Efforts were made to subsidize northern newspapers. A New Orleans native, Phineas C. Wright, transformed a Missouri organization, the Corps de Belgique, into the Order of American Knights, which absorbed most of the former membership of the subversive Knights of the Golden Circle and spread through the midwestern and eastern states. Deterioration of northern morale was a key tactic in the South's prosecution of the war.

Professor Gray does not sufficiently stress this aspect of southern policy, but he does show how the Copperheads connived in this policy by seeking to break down faith in the object and conduct of the war. Rep. Chilton A. White of Ohio told Congress, then discussing a Naval Appropriation Bill: "I main-

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tain that the war in which we are at present engaged is wrong in itself. . . ." His Ohio colleague, Alexander Long, told Congress as late as April 8, 1864, that "I regard all dreams of the restoration of the Union . . . as worse than idle." In the difficult winter of 1862 almost the entire midwestern Democratic delegation abstained from voting when a $475,000,000 army appropriation bill came before the House. Then as now congressional defeatists took every opportunity to obstruct essential war legislation and to feed the press with anti-war copy.

The main strategy of the Copperhead politicians was a continual peace offensive which varied only in form and intensity with each new turn in the military situation. Vallandigham exclaimed in the House: "Defeat, debt, taxation, sepulchres, these are your trophies. . . . Stop fighting. Make an armistice—not a formal treaty." Leading Democratic newspapers in the Midwest, like the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* Chicago *Times,* Detroit *Free Press,* belittled Union successes, exaggerated Union defeats, and circulated Confederate stories about northern atrocities. Editorial writers denied the possibility of a Union victory.

ATTACKS on Lincoln did not differ substantially in form from attacks on Roosevelt today. When Senator Taft of Ohio warns the country of "dictatorship" in the White House, he is merely echoing the charge of Vallandigham of Ohio. "Constitutional violation" was the stock cry of those whom the frontline soldiers dubbed "peace sneaks." States rights were invoked as an argument against the exercise of every essential war move of the Federal government. Heroic solicitude for "civil liberties"—that is, the liberty to jeopardize a nation's life—was suddenly manifested by those who had murdered Lovejoy. "Other patriots," shrieked Vallandigham, "in other ages, have suffered before me. I may die for the cause; be it so . . .," and this hypocritical martyr set the tone for a whole school of throbbing liars. Editorial writers bewailed a situation in which the executive branch of government was "usurping" the powers of Congress.

It is ironical to find anti-Roosevelt Republicans today repeating word for word the strict constructionist arguments that were once the exclusive property of anti-Lincoln Democrats. When Mark Sullivan writes that New Dealers are fighting the war in order to smuggle in poll-tax reforms, he is voicing the charge of the Copperheads, after the Emancipation Proclamation, that Lincoln had got us into the war on false pretenses. At campaign rallies for Vallandigham, as candidate for governor of Ohio, an inspired feature was a procession of young women with placards reading: "Fathers, Save Us from Negro Equality." Don't be surprised if poll-tax defeatists revive the slogan. "In the name of God, no more bloodshed to gratify a religious fanaticism," yelled an ex-governor of Illinois appropriately named Reynolds. The Copperhead press claimed that the Emancipation Proclamation had encouraged "Negro assaults on whites, both North and South." The Dubuque *Herald* addressed Union troops in this vein: "You perceive that it is to emancipate slaves and to enable adventurers to make money by plunder that you are used as soldiers. Are you, as soldiers, bound by patriotism, duty, or loyalty to fight in such a cause?"

THE author of *The Hidden Civil War* believes that Emancipation was proclaimed at an "unfortunate" time. But the truth is that it came in the nick of time and could no longer be postponed, belated as it already was. For while Emancipation increased the wrath of the Copperheads and gave them another demagogic weapon, its military and morale effect turned the tide of battle toward victory. Its proclamation marked a break with the policy of appeasing the appeasers, a policy which, as every page of this book reveals, could not possibly work except in the interests of the fifth column. As it was, a certain leniency at various moments and in particular localities brought us close to disaster. There was no compromise with those who, like the Chicago *Times,* maintained that "The government, then, by the act of the President, is in rebellion. . . ."

Of particular interest for us at this moment is the behavior of Copperheads during a war election. During the political campaign of 1862 the defeatists wore a mask: ". . . most Democratic spokesmen who were opposed to the war *per se* kept their attitudes pretty much to themselves, obviously in the hope of reaping as large a harvest as possible among advocates of the war policy who were for any reason discontented with the administration." In other words they did not dare pose the full scale support of the war effort as a central election issue. They minimized it. They were all, for the moment, agreed on that. As agreed on it, for instance, as Ham Fish and Jim Bennett. Anti-administration elements gained in the elections, partly because they were holding their real fire and partly because the military situation was poor.

The main dissatisfaction arose from "the disappointing military situation and the resulting conviction that the authorities had not displayed a skill in utilizing the resources granted them commensurate with the efforts of the people." What Professor Gray neglects to mention is that this poor military situation was in large measure due to the ineffectual, defeatist generalship of McClellan, himself a Democrat who was to oppose Lincoln in the 1864 elections. In short, the administration was still not hitting hard enough; it was still encumbered with appeasement elements. It is significant that in the elections of 1864 the Copperheads were completely routed, and with a firm, forthright, and greatly clarified emancipation policy and an aggressive military leadership working against them, the Copperheads of the Middlewest were so badly beaten that their party was virtually crushed in that region for generations.

THE lesson of 1862 had been nearly calamitous, but it stuck. For the peace-at-any-price Democrats who had worn a mask before the elections came forward more boldly than ever after their victory. The peace offensive was renewed with vigor. It was in this period that William S. McCormick, grandfather of the present owner of the defeatist Chicago *Tribune,* wrote to his brother Cyrus: "I think it probable that the government will yield to the pressure of the people against this war—ere long." But he was mistaken both about the people and the government. As Senator Trumbull of Illinois wrote of Lincoln, "if he don't go forward as *fast* as some of us like, *he never goes backward. . . .*" Lincoln did not go backward, and when he really began to take up the offensive against the Copperheads, using every measure necessary to safeguard the people and the country, he revealed himself as a truly great people's leader.

In the early years of the war Karl Marx had noted Lincoln's tendency to concern himself with a fussy and pettifogging constitutionalism, in reality a snare set by his demagogic enemies who attacked every measure for victory as an act of "dictatorship." Victory began then as now with a decisive rebuke to the saboteurs of freedom and with a total release of the people's energies. The Union soldiers who broke up secret meetings of the Copperheads and fought them at election rallies knew that the enemy has two fronts, and that both must be caved in before the country can be safe.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

India's Fight

INDIA WITHOUT FABLE, *by Kate L. Mitchell. Knopf. $2.50.*

JAPAN is already poised for an attack on India and action is urgently necessary to solve the deadlock there. Kate L. Mitchell's new book, *India Without Fable,* arrives just in time to help eliminate the confusion created in American minds by distorted and garbled news reports and radio comments, by presenting a cogent and factual picture of India today, with enough background material to give the picture perspective. It is heartening for an Indian like myself to see how amazingly Miss Mitchell has caught the spirit and point of view of the Indian people. Written in lean and lucid style, quite up-to-date, including the Cripps Mission and its aftermath, it appears to me to be the only book of its kind available to the American public.

India Without Fable describes, among other things, the growth of British imperialism in

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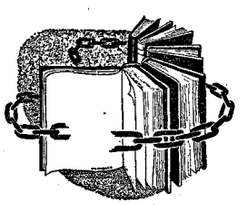

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India and the inevitable political, social, and economic changes that followed in its wake. It tells of the various outward changes made in the structure of the government of India, including the Constitution of 1937, and analyzes the claim made by Lord Halifax in a recent speech that "each successive constitutional reform measure bestowed on India by Britain has marked a conscious advance from dependence to complete autonomy." The author traces the beginning and development of Indian Nationalism, and gives a brief history of the Indian National Congress, together with short biographical sketches of some of the leading Congress members and an analysis of the role Gandhi plays in Indian politics. It also describes such organizations as the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha, which have recently received some publicity in the American press, and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, a most influential Moslem organization which works in close cooperation with the Congress and has received no recognition outside India. Miss Mitchell deals with the problems of caste and untouchability, Hindu-Moslem disunity, and "the anachronistic patchwork created by the existence of 562 Native States . . . scattered the length and breadth of the country and ruled by autocratic Princes."

Analyzing the claim made by spokesmen of the British government that the above-mentioned problems prevent India from gaining self-government, Miss Mitchell finds that:

"Despite the seeming confusion and internal dissension, the one consistent trend visible in India's history for the past twenty-five years has been the steadfast, increasingly powerful drive for national independence. . . . A mammoth struggle on the part of nearly one-fifth of the human race to achieve social progress, political liberty, and a basis for cooperation with other countries on an equal basis. Even the Cripps Mission could not obliterate the strength, sincerity, and progressive character of the Indian people's fight for national freedom and for the basic civil rights enjoyed by the citizens of the western democracies."

India Without Fable also discusses that basic issue in India, the agrarian problem. It describes the destruction of Indian handicraft industry to create in India a market for goods manufactured in Great Britain with the result that millions of artisans were forced to fall back on the land. There is a vivid picture of a land extraordinarily rich in natural resources, rivaled only by the United States and the Soviet Union, but where the requirements of imperialism have impeded industrial development to such an extent that, at this critical period, it is impossible to manufacture any heavy tanks, guns, or planes and there is no motor industry at all. "It is this failure to develop industries," writes Miss Mitchell, "as alternative sources of employment that has led to the terrific over-pressure on agriculture which is the basic cause of Indian poverty. India feeds and to some extent clothes its population from what two-thirds of an acre (per head) can produce. There is probably no country in the world where the land is required to do so much."

Out of Miss Mitchell's mass of facts and figures, quotations from official sources and recognized authorities, there emerges a vivid picture of India and its people. It shows a country of nearly 400,000,000 people, ninety-three percent of whom are illiterate after 150 years of British rule. The average income varies from two to four cents a day, and the average life expectancy is twenty-three years. The people have no political rights, and have to suffer the presence of archaic native princes artificially kept alive by the British government to serve—in the words of one Englishman—as a "vast network of friendly fortresses in debatable territory" which would make it "difficult for a general rebellion against the British to sweep India. . . ." Under the leadership of Nehru the Indian people have proved to be genuine anti-fascists, supporting the cause of China, Abyssinia, and loyalist Spain, and sending medical relief and ambulances to Spain and China. Although totally disarmed by the Indian Arms Act of 1879, and without any support from the government during this war, the people have organized defense units in several provinces and are drilling with batons! In short, one gets the picture of a country which can effectively defend itself in the only way an industrially undeveloped country can fight, in the way China has so effectively fought Japan for the last five years. India wishes to follow the example of China and raise a guerrilla army of many millions who can be armed with the small-caliber arms which India produces and can produce in greater amounts with the aid of machine tools and expert technicians from the United States.

Dominion status or any other status *after the war* will not solve the problem of India. The lesson to be learned from China is, as Miss Mitchell puts it, that: "The Chinese people are fighting for their national freedom under their own leaders, and millions of Chinese, particularly in the guerrilla areas in North and Central China, have for the first time gained practical experience in democratic forms of government. But for the Indian people as a whole, the war has brought no such political developments. They have been given no opportunity to forge their national unity in a common struggle, no training in the art of democratic government, and no sense of responsibility for achieving victory. To them, proclamations about human liberty and progress can be little but empty phrases, so long as their government and their armed forces remain entirely foreign-controlled."

Compulsory education, medical relief, a more vigorous diet, agricultural assistance, organization of industrial cooperatives, the arming of the people not only with the minimum weapons of war but also the right to have a voice in deciding their own destiny—these things must be done today to build effective resistance to Japanese aggression; and, with the progress of the war, the program must be

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constantly augmented in order to increase the people's capacity to fight. Because the British government has not shown the slightest inclination to put any such program into effect, the Indian people feel that, *as a vital war necessity,* they must have a Provisional National Government to guarantee the initiation of such a program in order to contribute to the United Nations' "global strategy of concentrating their main forces for an effective blow against Hitler on the European front, while simultaneously aiding China to withstand the Japanese offensive, defending India, and laying the ground for an ultimate counter-offensive to drive Japan out of the conquered areas. . . ." Such is Miss Mitchell's view, and this is what makes her volume a must.

KUMAR GOSHAL.

Plunder and Decay

LAST TRAIN FROM BERLIN, *by Howard K. Smith. Knopf. $2.75.*

TO KEEP the chronology straight, Howard K. Smith succeeded Harry ("Assignment to Berlin") Flannery, who succeeded William L. ("Berlin Diary") Shirer as CBS correspondent in Berlin, and left Germany on Dec. 7, 1941, the last correspondent to do so before Americans became enemies officially. Before that, he first went to Germany in 1936, merely as a young man with liberal tendencies fresh from college, to see what Hitler was up to. What he thought about Nazism then, made him the head of the Labor Club when he was at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. When Hitler went into Poland, Smith applied to United Press for a job, and shortly thereafter found himself back in Berlin as UP correspondent, a job he held until he went over to CBS.

As to what he found in Germany, especially since the start of the Russian campaign, Mr. Smith has put it admirably in a nutshell: "If I had to describe Hitler's Germany, I would compare it with a fine looking fat apple with a tight, red, shiny skin, which was rotten in the core. The strong, polished hull is the army and the Gestapo, which has become the main constituent of the Nazi Party. It is a strong, very strong cover. The rotten inside is *the whole fabric of Nazi society.*" (Italics the author's.)

This is not, on Mr. Smith's part, the cheerful sort of thing you tell yourself to make a gloomy day look brighter. He documents it carefully in every aspect of German life. On the economic front, he flatly contradicts those who still talk about the Brown Revolution. The National Socialist Party was and is run for and by the Big Money, with only the slightest cleavage between the old monopolists like Krupp and the newer robber barons like Goering. The middle classes profited slightly for a while through the crushing of labor standards, but since the summer of 1941, when Russia turned out to be the complete opposite of another source of plunder, small shops and

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businesses have been closed down by plan or by lack of stock, and the former owners put to work in factories where wages and conditions are, to say the least, intolerable. The workers, says Mr. Smith, are too spied upon and disorganized to do anything now, but the National Socialists fear the amount of true socialist opinion left in working class districts, ready to move the first time there is a crack in Nazi organization

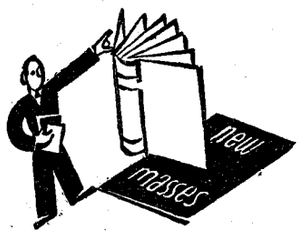
As for consumer's goods, there just aren't any. What food there is, is usually *ersatz,* and the whole population shows all the signs (including the bad tempers) of malnutrition. Now that the loot from France, Norway, Belgium, and Holland has run out, there are no clothes. Soap is issued in cakes as big as a match-box, to last for a month. Furniture and buildings fall slowly to pieces and windows remain broken because there is simply nothing to repair them with. Everything of any worth goes to the army, including synthetic vitamins that might, if there were enough of them, keep a little life in the civilian population.

The same relative state of affairs occurs in the government: anything pertaining to the army and organizations in foreign countries works fairly well. Any department having to do with domestic affairs is in a complete muddle, chiefly because all the competent people have been drawn off to the army or the Nazi Party. Protests from correspondents, for instance, fall into bottomless pigeonholes and no action is ever taken. The same occurs with everybody's ordinary, routine forms. There is no pretense of government by law; everything is done by pull, by knowing a guy who knows a guy, and the only semblance of order is that maintained by the Gestapo, who (to make a rather frivolous comparison), like the Queen of Hearts in *Alice in Wonderland,* impartially scream "Off with their heads!" at whoever spoke last.

Treatment of the "stateless" Jew has finally arrived at the simplicity of a mathematical formula: it varies in direct proportion to progress on the Russian front. Before the Russian advance last November the remaining women, old men, and children were at least left alone to starve quietly. Since that time, they have been shipped off in cattle-car loads to be beaten to death (along with Russian prisoners) at forced labor in occupied Poland and Russia.

Creative mental endeavor has been reduced to "artistic" photographs and paintings of nudes.

But in spite of the rottenness of the inside of Mr. Smith's apple, he does not believe it will crack spontaneously, because the German people are too afraid of what the rest of Europe will do to them if they revolt and stop the war. It's death, at best, either way, so they keep on fighting. There must be, on the one hand, a decisive military defeat, and on the other, a program by the United Nations that will give them some hope. Mr. Smith's suggestion for "Total Democracy"



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includes a military offensive (on a second front and/or increased and overwhelming aid to the Soviet Union) and at home, an immediate and drastic series of steps toward economic and political democracy: socialization of basic industries, independence or education for it under international mandates for colonies, and a just plan for a postwar world that will include the German common man as well as those we are all fighting to free.

The book, far more than a review can indicate, reveals Mr. Smith as a young man with an observant eye, a point of view to which to relate his observations, and enough intelligence to make constructive suggestions —which is a good deal more than can be said for a number of chronicles of how much Scotch everybody drank before they had trouble with the censor. You'd better look into it. SALLY ALFORD.

Brief Review

PROLOGUE TO APPEASEMENT: *A Study in French Foreign Policy, by Elizabeth Cameron. American Council on Public Affairs. Paper Edition. $3.*

The subject of how and why France fell does not cease to be of interest: we have had a long series of reminiscences and novels such as those by Heinz Pol, Genevieve Tabouis, Vladimir Pozner. There have also been such works as D. W. Brogan's *France under the Republic,* and Arnold Wolfer's excellent study *Britain and France between Two Wars,* which give a more rounded historical analysis of French politics and diplomacy. This monograph belongs in the latter category: it is an extremely well documented study of French policy, domestic and foreign, from the limited period 1933-36. Without pretending to draw fundamental conclusions in so clinically objective a work, the author finds that the men who betrayed France in 1940 and the forces that were unable to prevent this betrayal had already shown all the facets of their policies in the very early and middle thirties. She expresses the hope that "it may serve to clarify the recent past, and by implication, to indicate an analogy for other democratic nations which are vulnerable in many of the same ways" as was France.

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CHRONICLE OF CONFLICT

"The World at War," first of the full length government films, bares the pattern of Axis strategy. From the Mukden "incident" to today. Alvah Bessie discusses the strength and weakness of the film.

"THE WORLD AT WAR" is the first of the full length government films being produced by the Office of War Information to assist in broadening and deepening public understanding of the war. It is therefore extremely important in what it says (and what it does not say), and in the way its facts and figures are presented.

Prepared from newsreel sources, from captured Axis footage, and government propaganda film, *The World at War* was edited by Samuel Spewack, who also wrote the commentary spoken by Paul Stewart. Much of the Nazis' own propaganda film about the destruction of Poland, France, Belgium, and Holland has been incorporated in *The World at War,* as well as film documentation from Spain and Albania, Ethiopia and Manchukuo. Ably edited and cut, the narrative is swift and exciting, spanning the past eleven years since the notorious Mukden "incident" was used by the Japanese to initiate their conquest of China.

It is a heartening thing to have, from our government itself, a film that lays bare the heart of Axis strategy—the technique of "one at a time," the tactic of "saving the world from Communism." It is good for American audiences to learn from the government that Spain was a legitimately elected republic; that General Franco rebelled against that republic; that he called for assistance—and received it—from Hitler and Mussolini. And it is especially good to be shown this at a time when the strange proposal is made by the President himself that Americans assist in the rehabilitation of Spain's ancient culture under the aegis of the very Franco whose fascist guilt is so unequivocally exposed in *The World at War.*

The pattern of Axis strategy is explained to the audience. The film shows that China, Spain, many other countries fought the fascists, and that many countries were betrayed. When betrayal is mentioned, however, it does not receive the emphasis that history has given it. We are told that Vichy and Norway are Quisling states, but the extent of the heinous fraud perpetrated upon their democratic peoples is not sufficiently exposed. Nor does it serve the interests of accuracy to attempt, even in so half-hearted a fashion as the OWI has, to whitewash the period of the "phony war" when appeasement elements in France, America, and Great Britain were still striving might and main to divert Hitler's Wehrmacht to the east.

Isn't it about time that the OWI should admit to the people that leading appeaser figures in the great democracies were a party to the strangulation of Spain, of France, of Czechoslovakia? And if it is now possible to tell the people—as *The World at War* so enthusiastically does—something of the Soviet Union's great strength, its aid to the Spanish republic, its heroic struggle against fascism, isn't it also possible to point out that it was the Soviets who swiftly defeated the fascist-minded rulers of Finland in their provocations against the USSR? And that it was the fascists in France who sold that nation down the river?

If the film, without naming them, can show Senators Wheeler and Nye as isolationists right up to Pearl Harbor, why can't it admit that these men and the forces they represent are still strong and fighting to prevent that second front which will guarantee victory? Also, when labor "conflict" is shown early in the film as one cause of American disunity, why sedulously avoid saying *who* provoked this conflict—and why couldn't we be shown the magnificent unity labor is achieving, its enormous efforts to increase production, and its role on the battlefront?

We raise these questions, not for the sake of emphasizing shortcomings in the film, but because of the important purpose of documentaries like this. They are produced as a contribution to understanding—and the action which flows from understanding. And a people's war demands the utmost clarity on the part of the people who are fighting it. We must know exactly how, why, when, and where. Nothing should be withheld, nothing bilked, nothing distorted, even by accident.

IT SHOULD be said, however, that *The World at War,* despite its limitations, does contribute to understanding in many respects. It says things that have rarely been said before, officially, and it says them through a powerful popular medium. The most valuable point it makes can perhaps be summed up in one passage from the commentary: "America was at war. It had been at war, although few Americans realized it, for more than ten years, ever since Sept. 18, 1931, when Japan clawed Manchuria out of the body of China." And the film ties together that long anti-fascist struggle, putting in proper perspective events which are separated geographically and chronologically, all of them part of the same gigantic battle in which America is absorbed today. The headlines and even more obscure stories from years back assume a timely pertinence. For example, a shot of Fritz Kuhn addressing the German-American Bund at Madison Square Garden—while an anti-Nazi is beaten on the platform—leaps out at you from the screen with twice the significance that most people attributed to the actual event a few years ago. It was—remember?—pretty much a "local" newspaper story then.

I thought the OWI handled the Nazi propaganda footage with admirable skill. Those portions of *The World at War* show bombing and burning of cities, Nazi conquest. Hitler's men, of course, filmed this because they were proud of their work; they regarded it as a mark of their invincibility and counted on audiences to recognize it as such. As presented in *The World at War,* however, it arouses the opposite of admiration—it stirs revulsion, horror, and contempt, and it steels rather than frightens the anti-Axis battlers.

The men who guide the Office of War Information should be even more determined to present the truth to us. Our people can stand the truth—and the truth will cement their unity and assure their victory.

★

IN *The Talk of the Town* Sidney Buchman and Irwin Shaw, the scenarists, have made shrewd use of the comedy technique in handling the case of Leopold Dilg.

Leopold, we learn, was a worker in a small town factory that burned down. In fact, he had predicted it would burn down, and when it did, what was more "natural" than that the boss should pin the arson on Leopold? Especially when you consider the fact that Dilg had always been a thorn in the side of manufacturer Holmes, and was the "town malcontent" who had a bad habit of making soapbox speeches.

When Dilg saw the jury of twelve citizens "good and true" who were to decide on the evidence, he knew his chances were nil and he broke jail. This, of course, was a mistake, since it made him a fugitive from justice and, in the eyes of the law and the local public, constituted an admission of guilt. His lawyer, old Sam Yates, believed in Dilg, but he was powerless to prove his innocence in the face of such incriminating circumstance, and Yates' old-time classmate, Michael Lightcap, dean of a prominent law school, who was scheduled for the bench of the Supreme Court, refused to help the man.

From this situation, authors Buchman and Shaw have proceeded, with the nimble camera and intelligent direction of George Stevens, to weave a comedy that is, in certain aspects, profoundly significant. Its main theme is the

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wide differential that exists between the idealistic theory of the law (as expounded by Dean Lightcap) and its debased practice as exemplified by the venal judge, the bought jury, the nature of the defendant, and the power of the anti-labor industrialist Holmes, who has the the means to manufacture "public opinion."

The film reveals an understanding of judicial corruption and its deep social implications. The courage of the authors, the director and Columbia, the producer, in presenting these facts is outstanding and commendable. From such a picture as *The Talk of the Town,* even though presented in a light-hearted way, much can be learned about lynch law, about such cases as Scottsboro, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the current manufactured Harlem "crime wave"—cases in which powerful interests operate to the prejudice of real justice for individuals whose opinions or origins are considered "unpopular."

So important is this presentation of the facts of judicial life in America that it is a distinct pity the producers' courage did not extend a trifle further—just far enough to make it explicit, for instance, exactly who Leopold Dilg *was* and what he represents in the world. For the labor-conscious audience member will understand who he is, but many in the audience will not.

Dilg was, apparently (to read between the sequences), a labor organizer; at least, he was a labor-conscious worker who, as Dean Lightcap later said, "had the courage to speak his mind." Therefore, he was a thorn in the side of manufacturer Holmes; therefore, Holmes did not hesitate, when he burned his own factory for the insurance, to pin the crime on Dilg—and what chance did the local "agitator" have after that?

But as Dilg is presented the audience is more likely to feel—well, here was a local crackpot who made soap-box speeches "as a form of self-expression, like other people write novels or compose music." (That is what Dilg said; and it is the extent of his self-explanation to the audience.) Here was a man, the audience feels, who although obviously a ne'er-do-well from the standpoint of the solid citizen was nevertheless a nice guy (after all, he's Cary Grant, and what harm could come to Cary Grant?) and an innocent man to boot. Innocent men should not be persecuted for crimes they do not commit. Well and good. The manufacturer was a heel, and should get his just deserts.

But by not making it explicit that Dilg was *not* a crackpot, *not* a ne'er-do-well, *not* an "agitator," the film does not give us an insight into a larger truth—that honest labor-conscious workers have often been framed, not only by men who are heels, but as a common anti-labor practice. And insofar as the film does not show this, it misses an opportunity to speak loud and firmly on certain aspects of economic democracy vs. fascism.

Yet it is both pleasant and profitable to witness the education of Dean Michael Lightcap, the legal genius who had never made the leap between the fine theory of even-handed justice and the corruption that is practiced in life itself. He learns, however—and he learns, too, that there are police officers who, when hunting a man whose guilt has not even been established, are quite capable of handing him over to a mob, "if the demand is great enough" and that there are men like Holmes quite capable of creating the "demand."

All these salutary facts of life come through the light-hearted script which authors Buch-

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man and Shaw have written. And if the light treatment and the uncertain identity of Dilg take some of the sharpness out of an otherwise vigorous film, they do not take enough to render it innocuous by a long shot. For *The Talk of the Town* is in its other aspects a fighting film. It moves nimbly from low comedy (sometimes effective, sometimes not) to high purposefulness, and when it is stating its theme it states it pugnaciously and in a tone of voice that cannot be mistaken.

Under George Stevens' direction Cary Grant achieves a performance that possesses considerably more than his well known charm; Jean Arthur, who is one of our ablest comediennes, was never more touching and amusing; Ronald Colman, as the dean, is excellent (if a little too casual when he berates the lynch mob), and there are fine characterizations by Rex Ingram, Edgar Buchanan, Glenda Farrell, and Charles Dingle (the nastiest of *The Little Foxes*).

★

THE life of the celebrated British aviatrix Amy Johnson is the subject of one of the few aviation films that make real sense. *Wings and the Woman* makes sense because the entire narrative is informed with an understanding of how things happen in real life and because an effort is made to reveal what flying means to those who fly, and what it means in terms of human and social development.

The period that brought Amy Johnson to fame was the period of aircraft pioneering. Three years before she made her celebrated flight to Australia—the first ever made by man or woman—Lindbergh had landed in Paris. In the next few years daring aviation pioneers were setting up and smashing records right and left. It was becoming apparent to those who had eyes to see that the airplane had shrunk the boundaries of our world and would shrink them further. It was becoming apparent that in the airplane there was a weapon that would be central to the coming world conflict.

An attempt—not entirely successful, I feel—is made to explain Amy's desire to fly by reference to her youthful rebelliousness against convention. But I do not feel that the motivation supplied—her refusal to wear a ridiculous school hat—amply accounts for her pioneering activity as a woman and a pilot. The objective results of that activity, however, are plain to be seen and they answer many questions that are only now beginning to receive definitive answers.

Those questions involve the role of woman in our society. Miss Johnson's unprecedented flight to Australia in an eighty-five-horsepower Gypsy Moth—9,500 airline miles in nineteen days—proved to the world that women could fly if they were given a chance. This was in 1930. It was in Australia that Miss Johnson met her future husband, James Mollison, a transport pilot. Inspired by her flight, Mollison duplicated it in reverse and beat her record. This was the beginning of a relationship between the two. A rivalry was

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set up between them. Mollison made a flight to Capetown and Miss Johnson beat his time. They married. He made the first east-west passage from London to New York; they attempted the flight together and the failure of that flight (they cracked up in Connecticut) foreshadowed their divorce.

The contrast is made—and a shrewd one it is—between Miss Johnson's early understanding of the necessity for discipline in aviation and in life, and Mollison's attitude. He was the early bird, the "playboy of the air," the irresponsible, flirtatious, individualistic, and slightly alcoholic Superman characteristic of the pilots of his period—the men who flew "by the seat of their pants," were impatient of rules and regulations, and thought of themselves as something less than the angels. (Compare this idea with the story of Chkalov, as unfolded in the Soviet film *Wings of Victory.)*

The differences between Mollison and Miss Johnson made for separation. They also led to completely different roles in the present world conflict. Mollison was rejected by the Royal Air Force despite the acknowledged brilliance of his record as a pilot, because he was still too individualistic for this war. Miss Johnson's history of scientific pioneering won her a place in the Air Transport Auxiliary, the British counterpart of our Ferry Command. She died ferrying an Oxford-type bomber from factory to field, when she became lost in a fog and bailed out, drowning, ironically, in the Thames estuary—she who had successfully made long over-water flights in light planes.

As played by Anna Neagle, Amy Johnson returns to life in all three dimensions—and in several intangible dimensions. Miss Neagle knows how to convey to her audience the nature of a woman like Amy, and the nature of a pilot. But her performance, sensitive as it is, is overshadowed by the brilliance of Robert Newton as James Mollison. Mr. Newton's performance must be seen to be believed —and will be best appreciated by those who have intimately known pilots of the generation he portrays. He is all charm, "hard-boiledness," sensitivity, and egotism; he is insufferable and winning.

Wings and the Woman is a distinctly progressive picture despite its slight emphasis on the good old empire. Its chief emphasis lies in an attempt—successfully achieved by the authors, Lord Castlerosse and Miles Malleson, and the director, Herbert Wilcox—to make more understandable the subtle relationships of marriage, as well as the relationships between men and women fighting together in a democratic war.

In few aviation films will you get so true a sense of the *feel* of flight; in few films will you get so sure and honest a development of the place of woman in the world—for Amy Johnson, as shown in this picture, is more than a woman pilot; she is a human being, a wife, and a socially useful individual in her own right.

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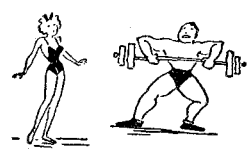

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